HISTORY

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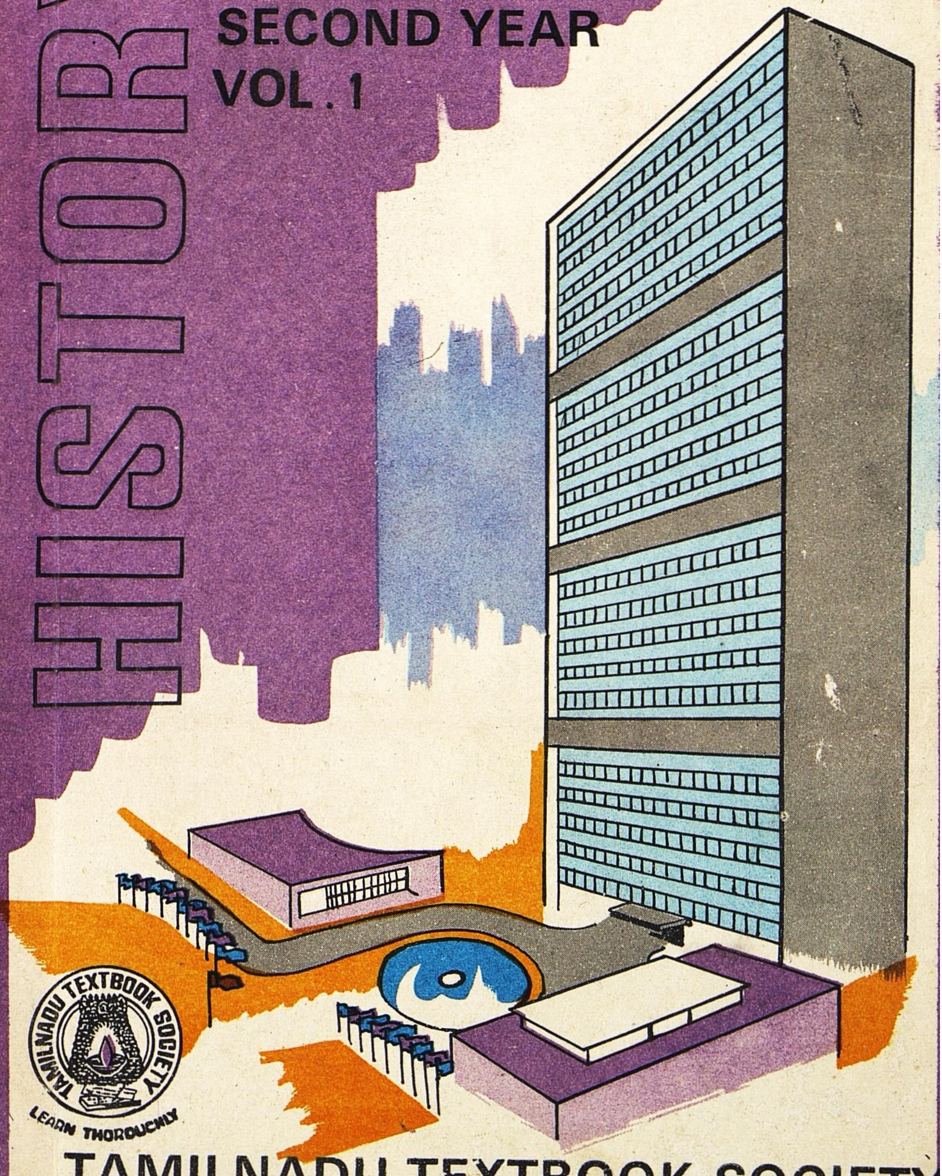
HIGHER SECONDARY

SECOND YEAR

VOL. 1



TAMILNADU TEXTBOOK SOCIETY

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HISTORY

Vol. I

Higher Secondary—Second Year

TAMILNADU TEXTBOOK SOCIETY
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First Edition — 1979

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Price : Rs. 5-10

This book has been printed on concessional paper of 60 G.S.M. substance made available by the Government of India.

Printed at :
Sree Ambika Press, Salem

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Part—A

INTRODUCTION

The history of the world has evolved from the Ancient, into Mediaeval and Modern phases. The period from the dawn of history to the downfall of the Roman Empire in the 5th Century A. D., is traditionally called the Ancient Period. The period from the 5th Century A. D. to the 11th Century A. D. is the so-called "Dark Ages". From the 11th Century to the 16th Century, the period moves into the Middle Ages or Mediaeval times.

The 16th Century was the beginning of the Modern Ages in Europe. The Renaissance, Geographical discoveries, Reformation and the rise of Nation States were the factors which caused the transition of Europe from the Mediaeval to the Modern Age. These movements and ideas demonstrated that civilisation had entered upon a new phase of its development.

Chapter I

THE RENAISSANCE

(a) Definition of Renaissance

In a narrow sense Renaissance ('Re Birth') means a new enthusiasm for classical literature and art which sprang up in Italy towards the close of the Middle Ages and which during the 16th Century gave a new culture to Europe. In a broad sense. Renaissance means the re-entrance into the world of that secular, inquiring and self-reliant spirit which characterised the life and thought of ancient Greece and Rome. The Renaissance was therefore a new way of looking at the world and at life. The best men of the Middle Ages thought of the world as a place of struggle and discipline in preparation for another world. In other words, "Self-repression was the highest ideal of the mediaeval world; but the ideal of the Renaissance was self-expression". Renaissance taught man that "his highest duty was to make the most of himself, to develop all his powers of mind and body in the most harmonious way, so that he might enjoy the beauty, of the world and able to seek for truth". The spirit of enquiry released by the Renaissance not only influenced 'literature and art', 'it affected also science and religion'.

(b) Causes of the Renaissance

1. The Renaissance was not a sudden event in European History. The Crusades awakened in the nations of Western Europe the spirit of a new life. This new spirit showed itself in the development of vernacular literature. In Spain the epic poem of the Cid, a reflection of Castilian chivalry was

written; in France the stirring romances of Charlemagne and his Knights were produced; in Italy **Dante** wrote his **'Divine Comedy'** in the native Tuscan language; and in England **Chaucer** wrote **'Canterbury Tales'**, in the Anglo-Saxon language. This regional literature anticipated the approaching Renaissance, for there was in those books a note of freedom, a note of protest against mediaeval asceticism and ecclesiastical restraint. Again the regional literature unlike the productions of the Schoolmen which were in Latin and addressed only to a small class, appealed to the masses and thus stirred the universal mind of Europe.

This new spirit was nourished in the atmosphere of towns which obtained freedom in the Middle Ages. In the city republics of Italy, particularly, there was developed a new spirit which was opposed to mediaeval teaching and ideals. For instance, Dante who lived in Florence from 1265 to 1321 shows in his ' Divine Comedy ', a critical spirit and mental independence which were characteristic of the Renaissance epoch. Again Dante, though he did not know a word of Greek, was fully alive to the importance of Greek literature. He calls Athens " the hearth from which all knowledge glows". Homer is "the loftiest of all poets." Aristotle is 'the master of those who know." Thus Dante was the prophet of the Classical Revival.

Dante was followed by **Petrarch** who lived between 1304 and 1374. He could not read Greek, yet he collected Greek and Latin manuscripts among which were the works of Plato, 'Letters of Cicero' and a copy of Homer's Epics. His enthusiasm for the classical authors was contagious and several young men began to learn the classics. The learning of Greek and Latin became a passion and a fashion in Italy.

It must also be noted that before Petrarch, the ruins of Rome had no meaning to the people. They were convenient brick quarries and nothing more. It was Petrarch who made

the people feel respect for the monuments of the Caesars and made them take an intelligent interest in those ruins of classical culture.

Boccaccio (1313-1375) like his master Petrarch did much to spread and deepen the enthusiasm for antiquity that Petrarch had awakened. He collected and copied ancient manuscripts and thus promoted classical scholarship in Italy. His famous Italian work, 'Decameron' is a collection of sensual stories which modern manners and print will not permit.

In the gathering of classical manuscripts, merchant-princes, despots and Popes took a leading part. Prominent among the promoters of the New Learning were **Cosimo** and **Lorenzo de Medici** of Florence. Florence became a second Athens. Among the papal patrons, **Pope Nicholas V** (1447-1455) was the most important. He added nearly 5000 manuscripts and improved the Vatican Library. The Papal Church, instead of opposing the New Learning, which was bound to weaken the ideas and beliefs underlying its authority, helped the rediscovery of ancient scripts. Thus a great impetus was given in the later Middle Ages to the writing of a number of scripts of ancient Greece and Rome.

2. For several centuries Constantinople was the seat of Greek and Roman scholars. In 1453 Constantinople was captured by the Ottoman Turks. This resulted in large numbers of learned men leaving Constantinople and going west. As noted already, in Italy people were showing some interest in classical literature and art. When the Greek and Roman scholars came and settled down in Italy and other countries in the West, a great impetus was given for the study of the ancient Greek and Roman literature and art.

3. The introduction of the printing press hastened the intellectual movement. **John Gutenberg** of Germany invented movable types or letters in 1450. The advantage of this was that after a page had been printed, the types could be removed

and used for another page. This improved method of printing was introduced in England by **William Caxton** in 1477. Printing helped the production of books in large numbers and considerably helped the growth of the Renaissance. Thousands of copies of the ancient Greek and Latin books were printed and placed in the hands of the reading public.

(c) Renaissance in Italy – Its Legacy

Just as the Reformation went forth from Germany, and the Political Revolution from France, so did the Renaissance go forth from Italy. In Italy Renaissance reached its highest development. There were several reasons for this. In the first place, even in the Middle Ages, Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio had prepared people's minds for the literature and art of ancient Greece and Rome. Secondly, Renaissance was an urban growth and the Cities of northern Italy like Venice and Florence patronised it. In particular, Florence was for a long time the financial Capital of Europe where the big money-lenders lived. Money required for the building and painting of works of art was supplied by the North Italian towns. Thirdly, Italy itself contained the monuments of the glorious period of the Roman Empire and it was natural that this country should take a revived interest in ancient Greece and Rome. Finally, the Roman Church maintained the memory of ancient Rome by cultivating the Latin language. Classical Revival therefore found in Italy a congenial soil.

The Humanistic Phase of the Renaissance

As pointed out already the humanistic phase began in Italy even before the fall of the Constantinople, which led to the flight of Greek Scholars to the west. Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio were the Chief Scholars of the new Humanism.

But in the great period of the Renaissance the chief thinker in Italy was Machiavelli (1469-1527). He was a political thinker who hailed from Florence. His celebrated

book "The Prince" was not only a close study of the political conditions of his time, but also an attempt to lay down rules as to how people should be governed. Machiavalli declared that the maker of a new state must be a strong despotic prince who need not be bound by moral rules. The principles which he laid down were used by the politicians and princes who were building up the new Nation States in the 16th Century. Machiavelli's doctrine of the end justifying the means, contributed to the growth of the naked doctrine of "power politics."

Artistic Phase

The Renaissance was not only a Humanistic movement. It was also an Artistic movement and in Italy it produced great buildings, paintings and sculptures. Many buildings came to be built on the model of the Masterpieces of Classical Art. In the Golden Age of Renaissance four remarkable arts shone above all others and they were Leonardo-da-Vinci, Raphael and Michael Angelo who hailed from Florence and Titian who was a Venetian. Leonardoy lived between 1452 and 1519 and his masterpiece "Last Supper" adorns the wall of a convent at Milan. He was not only a painter and sculptor; he was also a great thinker and Scientist. He made attempts at aviation or flying in the air but did not succeed. Raphael's (1483-1520) Madonnas are regarded as some of the best treasures in the world. Michael Angelo's (1475-1564) "Last Judgement" adorns the Sistine Chapel at Rome. Michael Angelo said, "Come, paint with his head not with his hands"- He was also a great architect and the mighty Cathedral of St. Peters in Rome was largely shaped by him. Titian (1477-1556) whose paintings of Biblican Scenes as well as some of the improtant personages of his time are regarded as some of the best in the world.

Italy enriched the intellectual life of Europe and earned or herself the permanent gratitude of mankind, thanks to Renaissance. The literary works, the paintings and pictures of

the great artists and the mighty St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome are the legacy of Renaissance to the world. It may also be noted that it was the Renaissance, that made the prose of France, the poetry and drama of England represented by Shakespeare, and Milton and the music of Germany hold a high place in the Republic of Art and Letters.

(d) Renaissance in England

Italy was the main home of the Renaissance. From Italy the movement spread to England, Germany and the Netherlands. In England and Germany, the intellectual awakening was practical bearing directly on problems of life. In 1481, Thomas Linacre returned from Italy fired with enthusiasm for Greek learning and on the basis of that learning started in England a scientific study of medicine. In 1491 William Grocyn an Oxford Scholar returned from Italy and started the study of Greek at Oxford. A little later John Colet, an earnest and eloquent priest, applied the study of Greek to the interpretation of the New Testament.

Another scholar of this group of Oxford Reformers was **Erasmus.** He was a Dutchman by birth, but had spent many years and had many friends in England. He used his learning to purify men's thoughts about religion and to bring about a Renaissance in the Church. In his book, '**the Praise of Folly** he ridieuled the old fashioned scholastic learning of the monks. He published in 1516 a complete edition of the Greek Testament, and placed beside the Greek a new Latin translation also.

Perhaps the most remarkable member of this group of Oxford Reformers was **Sir Thomas More,** the author of **"Utopia".** He wanted to bring about reforms in Church and State. "His greatest book, the finest product of the first stage of the Renaissance in England, was an earnest criticism of social and political ills and a glowing picture of an imaginary world in which these ills should disappear. Utopia is at once a criticism of the present and a dream of the future".

The writings and the preachings of the Oxford Scholars exercised a great influence on the intellectual attitude of the younger generation. The men of the Renaissance Epoch became critical, self-reliant and questioned anything which had no sanction in the Scriptures. Thus though the scholars did not accomplish any **Reform,** they prepared men's minds for **Reform.** In this way the Renaissance led to the Reformation.

In the later 16th century the Renaissance led to the development of prose, poetry and drama. In the days of Queen Elizabeth. **Spencer** wrote his **"Faerie Queen"** an allegorical work of great beauty.

The best writer of the Elizabethan Age was William Shakespeare. Though influenced by the Renaissance spirit, he never succumbed to the classical tradition. His dramas which have enriched English literature have been written in a natural, freer literary form. Milton, the Great poet of the 17th century was deeply influenced by the Renaissance. He went to Italy and saw the glories of Renaissance painting. He translated the paintings of Raphael and Michael Angelo into super English verse in his great epics – 'Paradise Lost' and 'Paradise Regained'

(e) Renaissance in Germany and the Netherlands

Even before the Renaissance in Italy, there was in Germany an association known as the **'Brethren of the Common Life'.** This association founded schools in which it taught young men to be practical and pious. This native movement came in contact with the Italian Renaissance and with the help of the printing press introduced by the German Gutenberg produced a number of books. New Universities were founded which became the centres of the Renaissance culture. In these Universities there were controversies between the monastic theologians who were the champions of the old Scholasticism and the promoters of the New Learning. The German scholar who took a leading part in this controversy was **John Reuchlin.** He had travelled to Italy to learn Greek and returning to

Germany, attacked some of the views of the orthodox clerical party. Another scholar was **Martin Luther.** It was his attack of the Renaissance Scholars on the theologians that prepared Germany for the **Reformation.**

In the Netherlands the towns were rich on account of the wool trade in the Middle Ages and spice trade later. Painting was patronised by some rich merchants. These merchants demanded portraits of themselves and their families. The result was that the School of Painting in the Netherlands became secular. The two **Van Eycks** were the most brilliant painters of the Netherlands.

War and religious strife checked the development of art in Germany, but the Flemish impulse went on to France where **Rubens** and **Rembrandt** produced delightful paintings.

(f) Renaissance and Scientific Discoveries

The spirit of enquiry generated by the Renaissance resulted in a number of scientific discoveries. The first discovery in the age of Renaissance was that the Sun is the centre of the Universe and that the earth goes round the Sun. It was **Copernicus** (1473-1548), a Pole who declared that the earth is round and that it goes round the Sun. He thus laid the foundations of the modern idea of the Universe. **Giordano Bruno,** an Italian accepted the Copernican theory, but he was burnt in Rome by the Church in 1600. **Galileo,** his contemporary also declared that the earth goes round the Sun. He was persecuted by the Church and so he denied the Copernican theory. It must be noted that Galileo made a telescope to observe the planets and stars.

Among the prominent Scientists of the 16th Century was **Harvey** who formulated the theory of the circulation of blood. It was the Renaissance spirit that made **Sir Isaac Newton** discover the Law of Gravitation in the 17 th Century.

(g) Results of the Renaissance

In the first place, the Renaissance brought in new Conceptions of life and the world. Just as Christianity produced great changes in the ancient world, so the Renaissance effected in the Christian West an intellectual and moral revolution.

The New Learning was a New Gospel. It taught people to think and investigate truth; it told them that life and its pleasures could be enjoyed without any danger to the soul. This new spirit brought about great changes in the realm of religion, politics, literature and science. The Geographical discoveries were stimulated by the Renaissance.

In the second place, it restored the broken unity of History. When Christianity was accepted as the state religion in the Roman Empire, classical culture or Hellenism was neglected as being pagan. Historical development was broken. Renaissance effected a reconciliation between Christianity and Classical civilisation. Thus the broken unity of History was restored.

Thirdly, it reformed education. Renaissance restored to the World the pure Latin and Greek language and popularised the philosophy of **Socrates, Plato** and **Aristotle.** In the Universities of Europe this classical system of education was introduced. This system was certainly a great improvement on the old scholastic method of instruction.

Fourthly, it helped the growth of vernacular literature. It would seem that the revival of the Classical Literature killed the Vernacular or Regional Literature. As a matter of fact in Italy, the national literature which had started 'into life' with such promise with Dante, Petrarch and **Boccaccio** was for a century neglected. But in other Countries the vernacular literature was promoted, because the literature of Greece and Rome gave literary men in those countries literary models and ideals. Shakespeare and Milton of England, Descartes and Molier in France and Cervantes (author of 'Don Quixote') in Spain, were

some of the great literary figures who made their languages rich and powerful.

Fifthly, Renaissance contributed to the rise of the sciences of archaeology and historical criticism. It created a desire among scholars to study the ruins of Ancient Greece and Rome. The Science of Archaeology thus arose. Again Renaissance by creating a critical spirit gave truth to the science of historical criticism. From the date of Renaissance began that critical shifting and valuation of historical sources resulting in correct reconstruction of Nieutal, classical and mediaeval History.

Sixthly, Renaissance gave an impetus to the growth of Nationalism in Europe. The study of Greek and Roman History, especially the glorious fight of the Greeks to preserve their freedom against Persian aggression and the remarkable manner in which Rome turned back Hannibal's invasion created a love of independence and freedom in every State.

Finally, Renaissance led to religious reforms. In countries like Germany and England copies of the Bible in the National Languages were placed in the hands of the people, thanks to the Printing Press. People studied the Bible enthusiastically, men began to question anything which had no sanction in the Bible. Thus the Renaissance prepared men's minds for the Reformation of the 16th Century.

Chapter II

Geographical Discoveries

Introduction

In the Middle Ages there was brisk trade between Europe and Asia. From China and the East Indies came silk and spices. People in Europe were getting the products of India, China and of those lands which were vaguely called 'Cathay'. At the beginning of the 13th Century **Marco Polo**, a Venetian Merchant who had heard of stories of other countries was filled with a desire to travel to the Eastern lands. In 1270 he proceeded to China through the Mediterranean sea, Persia, Pamir platean and the Gobi desert. He was welcomed by **Kublai Khan** the Mongol ruler of China. Marco Polo served in the Court of Kublai Khan, toured round China, Tibet, North Burma and the Pandya Kingdom in South-East India and at the end of seventeen years returned to his native city, Venice. An account of his travels was published and the book was called **'Travels of Marco Polo'**. It is said that later explorers like **Columbus** were moved with a desire to discover new lands by this book.

Trade between Europe and Asia during the Middle Ages followed along the following main routes:

(1) From London to Alexandria and across the Isthmus of Suez through the Red Sea to India.

(2) From Marseilles to Alexandria and across the Isthmus of Suez through the Red Sea to India.

(3) From Marseilles to Antioch and Aleppo in Syria and then to Baghdad and from there to India by the Persian Gulf.

(4) From Marseilles to Antioch, Aleppo and Baghdad and from there to China and India through Merv. It must be noted that all the important trade routes ran through the Mediterranean and the Suez.

(a) Causes for Geographical Discoveries

1. The Renaissance, the intellectual movement of the 16th Century created a spirit of enquiry among people. They wanted to know more about the world and to go on voyages of discovery.

2. At a time when Europe was full of a new energy brought about by the Renaissance, people heard about the untold wealth in the East from Marco Polo and other travellers who had been to China and India.

3. The fall of Constantinople (1453) in the hands of the Ottoman Turks formed an important cause. The Turk. who captured Constantinople and were in a position to control the traditional trade routes between Europe and the East, which ran through Mediterranean and Suez demanded more duties and harassed the traders. This practically blocked the traditional trade routes. This blockade resulted in affecting the free flow of goods from the East. There was a clamour among the peoples When the traditional route to the East was blocked, European explorers tried to find out new ways of reaching the 'Golden East'.

4. Another cause was the discovery of the **Mariner's Compass.** By means of the Compass, seamen were able to direct their ships to any part of the world during day and night.

5. The help and encouragement given by some of the leading traders and rulers of Europe were to a great extent responsible for Geographical discoveries.

6. Previously it was believed that the earth was flat. At the end of the 15th Century people began to think that the earth is round. If the earth is round, then it should be possible to reach China and India by sailing West.

(b) Important Geographical Discoveries

Portugal and Spain took the lead in the Voyages of exploration. Portugal under her famous king **Prince Henry,** the Navi-

gator (1394—1460) took a leading part in these enterprises. Prince Henry equipped and financed a number of expeditions which discovered many islands and places on the Western Coast of Africa like Madeira, the Azores and Cape Verde. The discovery of Cape Verde, the Westernmost point of Africa made people believe that they would be able to go round Africa towards India.

Prince Henry died in 1460 but under his successor King. John II, **Bartholomew Dias** reached the southernmost point of' the African Continent in 1488 and called it the 'Cape of Storms, since he met with fierce storms near the cape. King John however called it the Cape of Good Hope, for he had now a good hope of discovering a new route to the East.

In the meantime **Christopher Columbus**, a Genoese sailor who had been deeply influenced by the 'Travels of Marco Polo' proposed the bold plan of reaching the eastern lands by sailing westward. Columbus wanted a patron to finance his expedition. After great difficulty, he got the patronage of **Ferdinand** and **Isabella** of Spain and they fitted out an expedition. Columbus sailed in 1492 towards the West. After about three months of sailing on the Atlantic Ocean, he discovered a new land and he thought it was some part of India. Hence the name of 'West Indies' was given to the islands between North and South America. It was only later on that **Amerigo Vespucci**, a Florentine navigator declared that what Columbus had discovered was a new Continent and not India. The Continent came therefore to be called 'America'. Thus Columbus discovered the New World though he did not know it was a new Continent.

We have seen how in 1488 Bartholomew Dias, the Portuguese sailor reached the southernmost point of Africa. In 1498 **Vasco-da-Gama**, a Portuguese admiral sailed round the Cape of Good Hope crossed the Indian Ocean and landed at **Kozhicode** on the coast of Malabar in India. Thus Columbus discovered a New World, Vasco-da-Gama discovered a new route to the Old World.

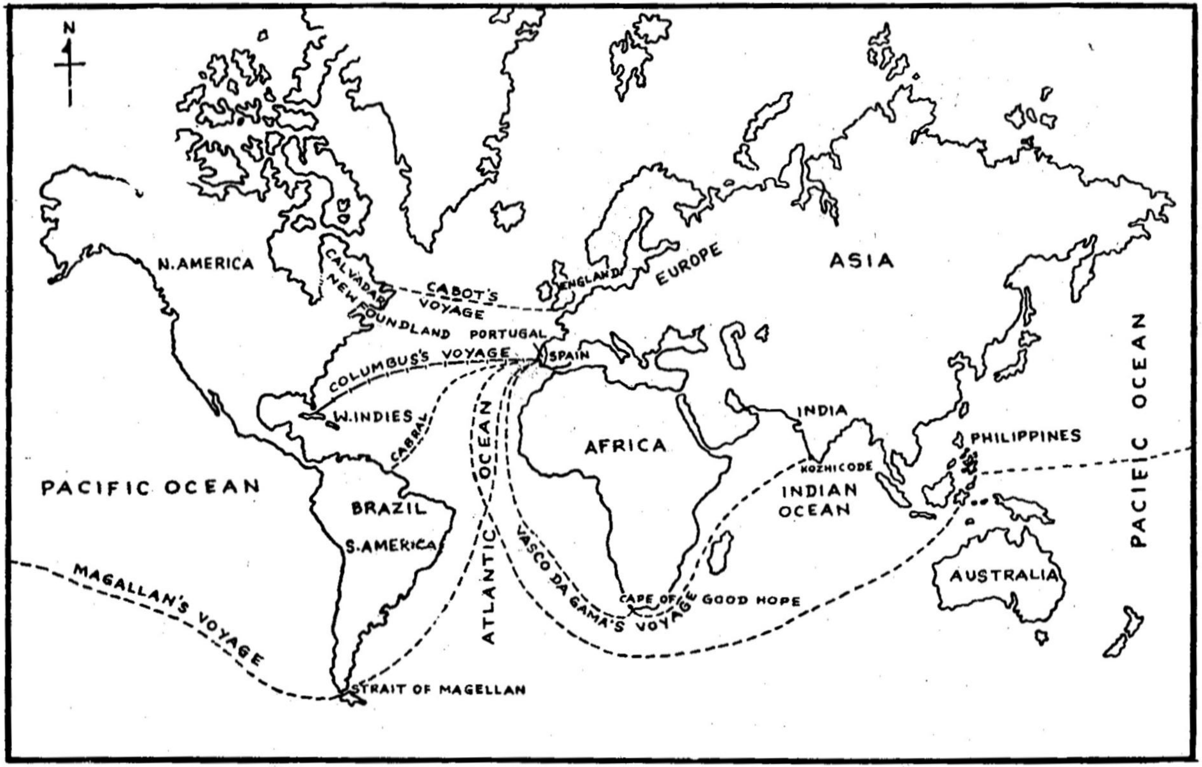

Fig 2.1
Ceographical Discoveries

After these discoveries **Pope Alexander VI** issued a Bull in 1494 declaring that Spain alone was to trade or acquire territories in the Western World and that Portugal alone could do likewise in the Eastern World. All other nations were regarded as Interlopers' or 'Intruders'. As Spain was prevented from using the Cape Route to India, she wanted to discover a route to the East through the West which was within her jurisdiction according to the Papal Bull. **Magellan,** a Portuguese sailor obtained permission from Charles V of Spain to discover a Western passage to India. In 1519 he set sail with 5 ships, proceeded in a south-westerly direction across the Atlantic, rounded the southernmost point of South America, which to-day bears his name as the **Straits of Magellan**' and entered the new ocean, which being so different from the stormy Atlantic, he called it as the **Pacific.** He then reached the group of islands now known as the **Philippines** (named after Philip II of Spain, son and successor of Charles V) where Magellan was killed. Out of the five ships with which Magellan circumnavigated the world only one ship named **'Victoria'** returned to **Spain.** The main Geographical discoveries were those of Columbus, Vasco-da-Gama and Magellan. There were other discoveries also. **John cabat** in 1497 and his son **Sebastian cabat** in 1509 started from Bristol in England and discovered Newfoundland and Labrador in the northern part of North America. In 1500 a portuguese sailor named **Cabral,** driven away by storms, landed in the northern part of South America which came to be known later as **Brazil.** In 1534 **Jacques Cartier,** a Frenchman crossed the Atlantic and discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

(c) Results of the Discoveries

In the first place, the discoveries revolutionised mediaeval notions regarding the shape of the earth. In the Middle Ages it was believed that the earth was flat. Now Magellan's circumnavigation of the world demonstrated that the earth is round.

Secondly, the discoveries moved commerce from the 'thalassic' to the 'Oceanic' stage. Hitherto seas like the Mediterranean had been highways of commerce; now oceans like the Atlantic became the highways of Commerce. Before these maritime discoveries, Venice, Genoa, Alexandria and other mediterranean ports had been prosperous, for the trade routes in the Middle Ages passed along the Mediterranean. All these Cities declined and their places were taken by Countries with an oceanic sea board like England, France, Spain, Portugal and Holland. London and Antwerp became flourishing cities.

Finally, the discoveries opened the seas of the world and new continents to the sailors and traders of all nations. Actually only five nations on the Atlantic seaboard, namely, England, France, Holland, Spain and Portugal were able to establish their empire in America and the East. In this expansion of Europe there were rivalries and jealousies which led to the great wars of modern times.

Chapter III
The Reformation

Introduction : The great religious movement of the 16th century known as the Reformation, was a dual movement. It was a revolt against the authority of the Pope and as such was a **Protestant Revolution.** It also removed some abuses within the Church and as such was the **Reformation.**

A. Causes of the Reformation

1. Rise of National feeling

In the Middle Ages the Pope was recognised as the religious head of Christendom (Christian Europe). He filled the vacancies in the Churches of different countries with his own men. At the beginning of the 16th century with the rise of Nation States, a feeling arose that the Pope's right to make appointments in the Churches of different countries interfered with their national freedom. They also did not like to pay annates and other contributions to the Church of Rome. Thus in several European Countries an anti-papal feeling arose in the 16th century and this led to the breach with Rome.

2. Corruption in the Church

Within the Church of Rome corruption was so serious that arose a demand for reform. So early as the 14th century John Wycliffe in England spoke against some of the abuses and doctrines of the church of Rome. He started a movement called the Lollard Movement but it was crushed by the English Parliament and Church. However he has been called by writers as the 'Morning Star of the Reformation', for he was the first to start the movement against the spiritual authority of the Pope. John Wycliffe was followed by **John Huss,** who in Bohemia condemned the authority of the Pope and the abuses within the Church. But the Hussite Movement was crushed by the Church.

The anti-papal movement started by Wycliffe and Huss, gathered strength in the 16th century, for during that period some of the Popes did not live upto the ideals of christianity.

The same was the case with the Monastic Orders. Originally monasteries were the centres of religion and culture. The monks were pious and ascetic, helped the poor by giving alms, and spread education. But as time passed the monks ignored the ascetic regulations and led frivolous lives.

What was true of Monasteries, was also true of the Mendicant Orders. Originally the orders attracted true types of men, men who were prepared to work hard for the sake of religion. But in the 16th century the Mendicant Orders consisted of ignorant and idle people who led frivolous lives. There was not only corruption among religious leaders and religious bodies; there was a degeneration of some religious ideas. First we shall examine the Theory of Indulgences. The Church had been saying that any gift or money to a good cause would release souls from punishment but that it took effect only after that the **Confession of sin and Sincere Repentance.** But in the time of Pope Leo X (1513-1521) a Dominican Friar, **John Tetzel** who had to collect money for the construction of St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome, in his anxiety to raise money did not insist upon confession of sin and repentance. He only wanted the payment of money. The result was that the people were misled to think that if only they contributed money to the building of St. Peter's at Rome, they would be exempted from all penalty for sins. Hence serious persons condemned the sale of Indulgences by the Friar and their murmurs and mutterings resulted in the Reformation.

Again in early times the relics of saints and martyrs were respected by all Christians, for it was believed that such relics were endowed with miraculous properties. But in course of time, taking advantage of the people's faith in such relics, the clergy multiplied false ones. Finally, more attention was paid to the performance of the ceremonies than to the practice of the christian virtues.

It must also be noted that the legal and judicial privileges which the churchmen had acquired in the course of the centuri

were the envy of the ordinary people. For instance, clergymen had been enjoying for centuries the 'Benefit of Clergy' According to this, if a clergyman committed murder, he was taken before a Church Court, where if found guilty, he was expelled from his office. On the other hand, if a layman was found guilty of murder, he was sentenced to death by the King's Court. This inequality before law was a grievance which the laymen had against the church.

3. Renaissance

In the midst of all this deepening discontent came the Renaissance, with its spirit of enquiry and its refusal to be bound by old forms, rules and rituals. The translation of the Bible in the national languages made the people read the sacred book themselves and fostered the habit of private judgement. The Oxford Reformers in England and the Renaissance scholars in Germany drew the attention of the people to the church abuses. Thus the Renaissance was the chief cause for the breakdown of tradition and the authority of the Pope.

B. Course of the Reformation in Europe

Amidst this state of affairs came to the front Martin Luther, Professor of Theology at the Saxon University of Witenberg. As he studied the Bible, he was more and more convinced that the abuses in the Church should be ended. So when Tetzel came to Saxony in 1517 and was preaching about Indulgences in a wrong manner, that is, that all sins could be atoned for by payment towards the construction of St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, Luther was greatly distressed. He declared that sin must be atoned for by inward penitence and not by a monetary payment. Accordingly, he posted on the Church door at Witenberg, a series of articles explaining his views.

Luther's views spread throughout Europe with the help of the printing press. The Pope was alarmed. He ordered Luther not to spread heretic doctrines. But Luther held fast to his views, denied the authority of the Pope and

questioned some of the fundamental doctrines of the Church. Therefore the Pope excommunicated him, but Luther burnt the Papal Bull. This audacious act raised a terrible storm which raged 'high as the heavens, wide as the earth'.

All Germany was in a state of revolt. Thereupon Pope Leo X asked Charles V, the Emperor to root out heresy and punish Luther. Luther was asked to appear before an assembly of princes, nobles and clergy of Germany at Worms in 1521. In the **Diet of Worms** Luther refused to retract. Therefore the ban of the Empire was served on him. But he was supported by **Frederick The Wise**, Elector of Saxony and other German princes and the movement gained strength.

Luther translated the Bible into the German Language so that the Holy Book might be understood by all. This helped Luther's movement to make rapid progress.

When Luther died in 1546, Protestantism had been accepted in Germany, England, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland and parts of France. But the triumphal progress of protestantism was checked owing to a number of causes, namely divisions among the Protestants, reforms introduced by the Catholic Church at the Council of Trent, the increased activity of the Inquisition, the rise of the Society of Jesus and Spain's championship of Catholicism.

Protestants became divided into three sects, quarrelling with one another and they were **Lutherens, Zwinglians and Calvinists.**

North Germany, Denmark, Norway and Sweeden accepted the creed of Luther. Of all the Protestants, the Lutherens made the least departure from the Catholic Church.

The Zwinglians were followers of Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531). They differed from the Lutherens, in regard to the Eucharist and Church Organisation. Their doctrines were accepted in South Germany and Switzerland.

The Calvinists were the adherents of **John Calvin** (1509-1564). Calvin was a Frenchman who on account of persecution in his country, fled to Geneva. Calvinism favours ecclesiastical democracy and the followers of Calvin have become famous in History as the champions of political liberty. The French Huguenots, the Scotch covenanters, the Dutch, the English Puritans and the 'Pilgrim Fathers' were all Calvinists. The divisions among the Protestants weakened them in relation to the United Catholic Church.

C. The Counter-Reformation or the Catholic Reform Movement

The Popes of the first half of the 16th century (that is, in the days of Luther) were more concerned with the politics of Italy and with Renaissance than with spiritual tasks. But the rapid spread of Protestantism soon made this indifference impossible. The Popes of the second half of the 16th century were men of different character. They realised that to strengthen Catholicism and bring the Protestant Countries back to the Catholic faith, the abuses within the Church should be removed. This movement is known as the **Counter Reformation or Catholic Revival Movement** or **Catholic Reform Movement.**

Council of Trent

The work of reforming the Catholic Church was entrusted to the Council of Trent whose sittings were spread over a quarter of a century from 1542 to 1566. This Council declared the traditions of the Church to be of equal authority with the Bible; it asserted the divine character of the Papacy; it condemned the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone. It demanded that the lives of all priests and bishops should be an exemplification of Christian purity and morality.

The reforming spirit of the Council of Trent was exemplified by the life and character of the famous Italian Reformer, **Carls Borromeo.** He was the Archbishop of Milan and the splendid life that he led and the spiritual atmosphere that he created in Milan checked the progress of Protestantism in

Europe. Many countries which had become Protestant came back to the Catholic fold.

The Society of Jesus

Another agency for the re-establishment of Catholicism was the **Society of Jesus.** The Society was founded by **Ignatius Loyola,** a Spanish nobleman. Ignatius Loyola was at first a soldier but being crippled in war turned his attention to religion and became a devout Christian. He founded the Society of Jesus and its members took the vows of poverty, chastity, obedience and special devotion to the Pope. Through preaching and teaching, the Society wanted to establish the Catholic religion. It was particularly as educators that the Jesuits made their influence felt upon society. The Jesuits did so much to bring about a reaction in favour of Catholicism that Macaulay says, 'The history of the Jesuits is the history of the Catholic Reaction'. Through their efforts South Germany, Poland, Bohemia and Hungary after they had declared in favour of protestantism came back to the Catholic fold.

The Holy Inquisition

The Holy Inquisition was set up to punish the heretics that is, those who did not accept Catholicism. This Tribunal was assisted in the execution of its sentences by the secular authorities in all Catholic countries. Death, usually by burning, and loss of property, were the penalties for heresy. The Inquisition, as an agency of the Counter Reformation, did much to check the progress of Reformation, in Southern Europe.

D. Reformation in England

Under Henry VIII

Causes of the Reformation in England: (a) Rise of National feeling, (b) Corruption in the Church, (c) Renaissance, (d) Influence of the German Reformation (For details Section-A), (e) The Divorce question. In England King Henry VIII did not support the Lutheren doctrines. In fact, he wrote a book in

1521, in defence of the Pope. For having written a treatise against Luther, Henry VIII got the title of 'Defender of the Faith' from the Pope. But it is rather amusing to find this, Defender of the Faith' of 1521, developing into the 'Majestic Lord that broke the bonds of Rome in 1534'. The explanation of this change in Henry VIII lay in the 'Divorce question'.

The Divorce Question was the immediate cause of the Reformation in England. It was not the chief cause, as is imagined by some writers, for if men's minds in England had not been prepared for the Reformation, Henry VIII's revolt against the Papacy would not have succeeded. The Divorce Question only made the rapid triumph of Reformation possible because the King took the initiative and directed it. At the same time it must be noted that this political factor defiled the religious movement.

Henry and Catherine of Aragon had been husband and wife for 18 years. Catherine had borne him a daughter, Mary but no son. Henry was anxious for a son to succeed him on the throne. At this time he fell in love with a lady of the Court, **Anne Boleyn** by name. One fine morning, his conscience pricked him for having married his brother's widow 18 years ago. He therefore applied to **Pope Clement** for the divorce of Catherine. But the Pope could not easily allow the divorce. Charles V of Spain, the most powerful King on the Continent was the nephew of Catherine. In 1527 occurred the **Sack of Rome** which left Pope Clement at Charles V's mercy. But Clement did not want also to displease Henry. He appointed **Wolsey and Campeggio** to hear the case in England, but did not give them the power of final decision. Wolsey and Campeggio delayed matters to such an extent that Henry VIII became furious. His anger fell on Wolsey. Wolsey was accused of treason and was ordered to go to the Tower. But on the way Wolsey died.

On the fall of Wolsey, Henry was determined to overthrow the authority of the Pope who refused to sanction divorce. He appointed Sir Thomas More as Chancellor in the

place of Wolsey, but More would not help the King to undo the authority of the Pope. Thereupon Henry used Parliament to over throw the Papal authority. On account of the Divorce Question, the King was the engineer of the Reformation and Parliament was his instrument. Hence Trevelyan calls it as the 'Royal, Parliamentary Reformation'.

Phases of the Reformation under Henry VIII

The Reformation under Henry VIII was more political. Only towards the end of the reign some changes were introduced regarding mode of worship.

Political phases of the Reformation - The Breach with Rome

Henry summoned a Parliament in 1529, to do away with Papal authority. This Parliament was known as the Reformation Parliament, passed a number of Acts, depriving the Church of Rome of financial contributions from England and the clergyman of a number of privileges. Perhaps the most important Act was the Act of Supremacy of 1534 which declared that the King was the Supreme Head of the Church as well.

Thus the first stage in the Reformation was purely political one. The Reformation Parliament cut off the Papal connection. The Church in England now became the Church of England. It became an independent national body under the King. Its highest ecclesiastical official was the Archbishop of Canterbury. But no Protestant doctrines were accepted.

Henry was now very powerful for he had become the Supreme Head of the Church also. He appointed **Thomas Cromwell** as Vicar General of Ecclesiastical Causes and Cromwell's plan was to enforce Henry's ecclesiastical Supremacy.

Dissolution of Monasteries

The second stage in the Political Reformation under Henry VIII was the destruction of monasteries. The causes for the dissolution of monasteries were :

The monasteries were attached to the Papacy and Henry and his Vicar-General, Cromwell wanted to destroy these centres of Papal influence.

The monasteries had a great deal of landed property and the desire to possess their wealth was one of the motives that prompted Henry and Cromwell to order their destruction.

The monasteries, with their enormous wealth and other facilities, could have improved the education in the country. This they did not do. On the other hand, they were giving indiscriminate charity and thus helping people to become idle. There was general dissatisfaction with the way in which the monastic wealth was administered.

Lastly it was said that the inmates of the monasteries were not leading good lives. Cromwell appointed a Commission to enquire into the condition of the monasteries and the Report was unfavourable to the monasteries. Hence an Act was passed by the Reformation Parliament (this was its last Act) dissolving smaller monasteries. Their wealth was taken by the King. Later larger monasteries were dissolved and their properties were taken by the King.

The dissolution of monasteries produced the following results.

The wealth obtained from the confiscation of the monastic property was used in three different ways.

1. A certain 'portion' was taken by the King himself and he used it to build forts on the coasts and for building the Royal Navy. Some portion was used in endowing six new Bishoprics. The rest of the property was either given to gentlemen a reward for services or sold. About a thousand men received or purchased monastic lands. Thus out of the plunder of the monasteries sprang a new nobility which was very submissive to the King. The power of the King was considerably increased.

2. The dissolution of the monasteries removed the abbots from the House of Lords. Their places were taken by New Nobles. Thus the House of Lords became subservient to the King; it came to consist of 'Yes men'.

3. The New Nobles became supporters not merely of the King, but of the religious revolution, because they owed their wealth to the Reformation.

4. The transfer of monastic lands into the hands of the New Nobles led to the agrarian discontent. These New Nobles enclosed their lands for pastures and gave up cultivation of the soil. This threw many labourers out of employment and there were riots all over the country. All the religious risings against the Reformation from the Pilgrimage of Greece in 1536 to **Ket's Revolt** in 1549 were due to agrarian discontent.

5. The monasteries had been centres of poor relief. When they were abolished, the poor roamed over the country creating a problem for the government. It was Queen Elizabeth I who successfully solved the problem of the poor by her splendid Poor Law Act of 1601.

Religious Phase of the Reformation : Henry attacked the Papal power, monasticism and superstition, but he was not for changing the doctrines of the Catholic Church. He therefore passed in 1539 the **Statute of Six Articles**, which was intended as ' a dam to the rising tide of the Reformation'.

The Reformation under Henry VIII was thus more political than religious. His religious policy has been characterised as 'Catholicism minus the Papacy'.

But Henry's great contribution to the success of the Reformed faith was his circulation of the English Bible. The Scripture was open to all who could read and the right of private judgement which belongs to Protestants, was thus developed.

II Reformation in England under Edward VI-Doctrinal Reformation 1547-1553

The reformation entered the doctrinal phase in the reign of Edward VI. Before 1547 and 1553 changes in creed ritual took place. This was done due to the fact that the young king

and his advisers were Protestants. Somerset, the Lord protector from 1547 to 1549 was a Protestant and the Duke of Northumberland, the Lord Protector from 1549 to 1553 was even a more progressive reformer. Hence many changes were made in the doctrines and services of the English Church which carried it away from the church of Rome.

The changes introduced by Somerset were : (1) The Statute of the Six Articles was replaced, (2) Images were removed from churches as tending to idolatry, (3) The mass was abolished, (4) The clergy were allowed to marry, (5) In 1549 with the sanction of Parliament an English Prayer Book prepared by Archbishop Cranmer was issued, and this book of common prayer was imposed on all English Churches by the Act of Uniformity of 1549.

Deedley,Duke of Northumberland was more advanced in his religious views than Somerset. He introduced the following changes:

1. The Prayer Book of 1549 was revised and the second Prayer Book containing the extreme views of the Protestant church was published.

2. Archbishop Cranmer drew up 42 Articles containing the Protestant creed and this creed was enforced by the Act of Uniformity.

The two great churchmen of this period were Cranmer and Latimer. Cranmer by the Book of Common Prayer founded the Church of England on a positive religious atmosphere of its own and Latimer by his famous Pulpit oratory, drove home religious truths into men's minds. Latimer was also of opinion that education was part of religion and founded many Grammar Schools. Thus in the reign of Edward VI, the Bible, the Prayer Book, Pulpit oratory and Grammar schools effected the conversion of the people to the Protestant faith.

III Reformation in England — Under Mary Tudor — Restoration of Catholicism, 1553—1558.

On the death of Edward VI, Mary Tudor, daughter of Catherine, became the Queen. Being a staunch Catholic she re-established the Catholic religion in England. She married Philip II of Spain, a Catholic, replaced the anti-Papal Legislation of Henry VIII and appointed Cardinal Pole, who was loyal to the Roman Church, as the Archbishop of Canterbury in the place of Cranmer.

Then followed three years of persecution in which Mary burnt many Protestants. Among the notable persons who were burnt for their religious opinions were Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley and Hooper.

Mary hoped to destroy Protestantism in England by persecution. But it had the opposite effect. 'The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church'. The martyrdom of men like Latimer strengthened the cause of Protestantism in England. If men could lay down their lives for the Protestant faith, people argued that the religion must be a noble one.

IV Reformation in England-Under Elizabeth I (1558—1603)- The Elizabethan Settlement of the Church.

On the death of Mary Tudor, Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn became the Queen. Elizabeth had to face the problem of effecting a religious settlement. To find a settlement for, the religious question was now more difficult than before, for parties with definite religious views had been formed and been active since the days of Edward VI. There were Protestants and Catholics, the former being numerically strong in the south and east of England, and the latter in the north and west. Elizabeth was a shrewd Queen. She was anxious to preserve the national unity especially because, at her accession England was exposed to dangers from Spain and France. She therefore steered a middle course, offending neither Protestant nor Catholic and making them obey the established National Church.

Elizabeth passed the Act of Supremacy in 1559 which revived the control of the Crown over the Church, but she refused to accept the title 'Supreme Head of the Church' which Henry VIII had taken. She adopted the colourless life of 'Supreme Governor of Ecclesiastical Causes'.

Elizabeth then passed an Act of Uniformity in 1559. It ordered the use of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI with a few changes in all the Churches.

The question of doctrines was settled in 1563 when Elizabeth ordered the 39 Articles to be published. It became the creed of the Anglican Church.

Elizabeth's Settlement of the Church was a compromise between Catholism and Protestantism. The Anglican Church recognized the Monarch, not the Pope as its supreme Governor. Prayers were said in English and preaching was done in English. The clergy were educated; they were permitted to marry and they lived closely in touch with the people. But this Church was administered in the same way as it had before the Reformation. That is to say, it was administered through priests and bishops. The form of worship though simplified indeed, was still like the mediaeval litergy, beautiful and dignified.

This Church settlement maintained peace and unity and enabled England to pass successfully through a great crisis. It was a settlement which subjected the Church to the State, which established the authority of the Queen over the National Church through the bishops and through the Court of High Commission set up in the beginning of the reign.

Though the majority of the nations accepted the Elizabethan settlement there were still groups of men who refused to accept the settlement. They were the Catholics, the Puritans and the Brownists or Independents. Elizabeth was compelled to give up her tolerant following and set in motion, the Court of High Commission to finish who did not conform to her religious settlement.

For the concluding years of Elizabeth were years of religious quiet though the Puritan members of Parliament often gave trouble to the Queen.

The Elizabethan settlement thus completed the Reformation in England. The idea of toleration was absent from the system. It came only later on. All the other features of the Elizabethan Church settlement have lasted to the present day. As Trevelyan remarks 'The Elizabethan Church tempered by successive doses of toleration has held a permanent place in the institutions and even in the siprit of Modern England'.

E. Reformation in Scotland (1559 - 1560)

While the Reformation in England was due to the King's initiative, Reformation in Scotland who effected by the people in defiance of its ruler. The condition of the Scotish Church before the Reformation was unsatisfactory. The higher clergy who were very often sons of nobles were warlike, greedy and worldly minded. The common clergy were poor, ignorant and ill behaved.

Reformation in Europe had its influence on Scotland. Patrik Hamilton and George Wishart who had learnt the new doctrine abroad, returned to Scotland and preached the reformed faith. But they were put to death by Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. Three months later Cardinal Beaton was murdered, by some Reforms. The murderers surrendered and they were deported to France. One of those exiles was the famous Reformer John Knox.

In 1559, John Knox returned to Scotland. Scotland was at that time ruled by Mary of Guise, widow of James V and her French Catholic advisers. John Knox preached the new religion and the majority of the people became anti-Catholic. They rose against the Regent and adopted the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.

Realising the seriousness of the situation the Regent Queen appealed to France for help. The French King sent a force which captured Leith in 1559.

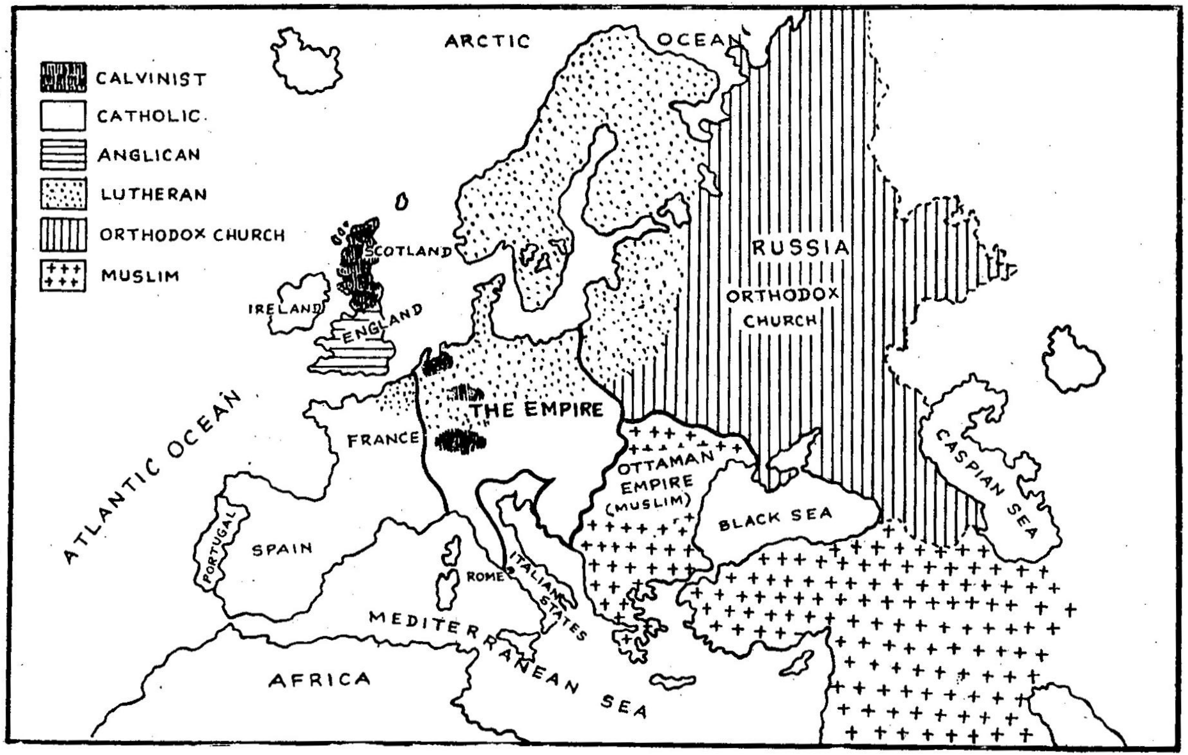

Fig. 3-1 Religious Divisions in 1610 A. D.

Now the Reformers appealed to Elizabeth for help. Elizabeth who had been secretly helping the Reformers, now openly came forward to help them. She sent an army to Scotland which compelled the French to abandon Leith. By the Treaty of Leith of 1560, Protestantism was established as the State religion in Scotland.

Hence forth, Calvinistic Protestantism was the national creed of Scotland. The Papal jurisdiction was abolished and the celebration of the mass was forbidden. John Knox and Andrew Melwille organised the church on the Presbyterian model. This was a democratic organisation of the church run by the Presbyters (Elders chosen by the people) and clergymen.

Thus the Scottish Reformation set up a religious democracy which was independent of the State and the Pope.

As a result of the Reformation, England and Scotland drew closer together and on the death of Elizabeth, the two countries came to be ruled by a common sovereign, James I.

F. RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION

1. England, Scotland, North Germany, Denmark, Norway Sweden and parts of Switzerland and Netherlands separated themselves from the church of Rome. The unity of Christendom was broken by the establishment of National Churches in the countries mentioned above. These Protestant countries enjoyed self-government in their religious life.

2. Reformation gave importance to the study of the Bible. The Papal Bulls and the decisions of the Church Councils were no longer regarded as hearing divine force.

3. Peace of Europe was at first disturbed by religious wars between Protestants and Catholics but in course of time religious toleration was followed by countries. The right of private judgement in course of time and along with other factors (such as the growth of science and the advance of the world in general intelligence) exerted a favourable influence on toleration.

CHAPTER IV

Rise of Nation States - England, France and Spain

Introduction

The most important political movement that marked the later Middle Ages was the rise of Nations with strong centralised governments. Each country felt distinct from the other in culture and wanted to have an independent State. The sentiment of unity born out of common language, religion, economic aspirations etc., was responsible for the rise of such Nation States. It was originally identified with the rulers. Only later on it came to be identified with the people at large. This movement was accompained by the decline of feudalism as a Governmental system, the loss by cities of their freedom and the growth of the power of the Kings.

Different circumstances contributed to the emergence of strong states in different countries. In some countries like Germany and Italy the factors against consolidation were so strong that the Modern Age was reached without Nationality having been found. But there was a growth of common feelings and aspirations and the development of National Languages and literatures. On the other hand in countries like England, France and Spain circumstances were very favourable towards unity and by the end of the 15th Century there were established in these countries strong national monarchies.

The result of the formation of strong national monarchies was that the political liberties of the people were crushed. Nationality was found, but liberty was lost. The power of the King grew, but that of the barons and people was lost. But in these countries in course of time the people fought for their liberties and became stronger than Kings. Out of despotic monarchy arose Constitutional representative government.

England

The Romans, Saxons, Danes and **Normans** each in turn invaded a land already peopled. England benefited by the various races which settled in the country, for their various qualities had gone to mould the English character.

With the **Norman** Conquest, the Feudal System was adopted to organise society and government, but unfortunately the system contributed to the disorderliness and lawlessness of the Middle Ages. But the strong policy of the Norman and Early Anjevin Kings checked to some extent the power of the barons. In the 13th century owing to the loss of Normandy. Norman barons who preferred to remain in England became patriotic and united with the English people in resisting the power of King John. The Magna Carta of 1215 was won in this manner. Then in the Parliaments of the three Edwards, barons and people met to discuss matters of national importance. The English people had become a nation and this is shown by the anti-papal legislation of Edward III's Parliaments, the birth of Lollard Movement under John Wycliffe and the development of English language and literature. Hitherto literary productions had been in Latin or in French. In the 14th century **Geoffrey Chaucer** (1340 - 1400) the father of English poetry wrote his '**Canterbury Tales**' in the English language. **William Langland**, another writer of the same period described in his poem the **'Vision of Piers the Plowman'** the social and economic troubles that followed the Black Death. Again in the 14th Century Wycliffe translated the Bible into English and his English Bible stands to English prose as Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales' stands to English verse.

One important factor which helped the rise of a strong nation State in England was the dynastic feud known as the Wars of the Roses. In this Civil War many of the barons lost their lives and the few that survived were unable to resist the power of the King. Feudalism as a system of Government became extinct. The common people who had taken little part in these ruthless struggles and yet who had suffered from their effects realised that if they wanted peace, order and political stability, there should be in the country a strong government. They therefore supported

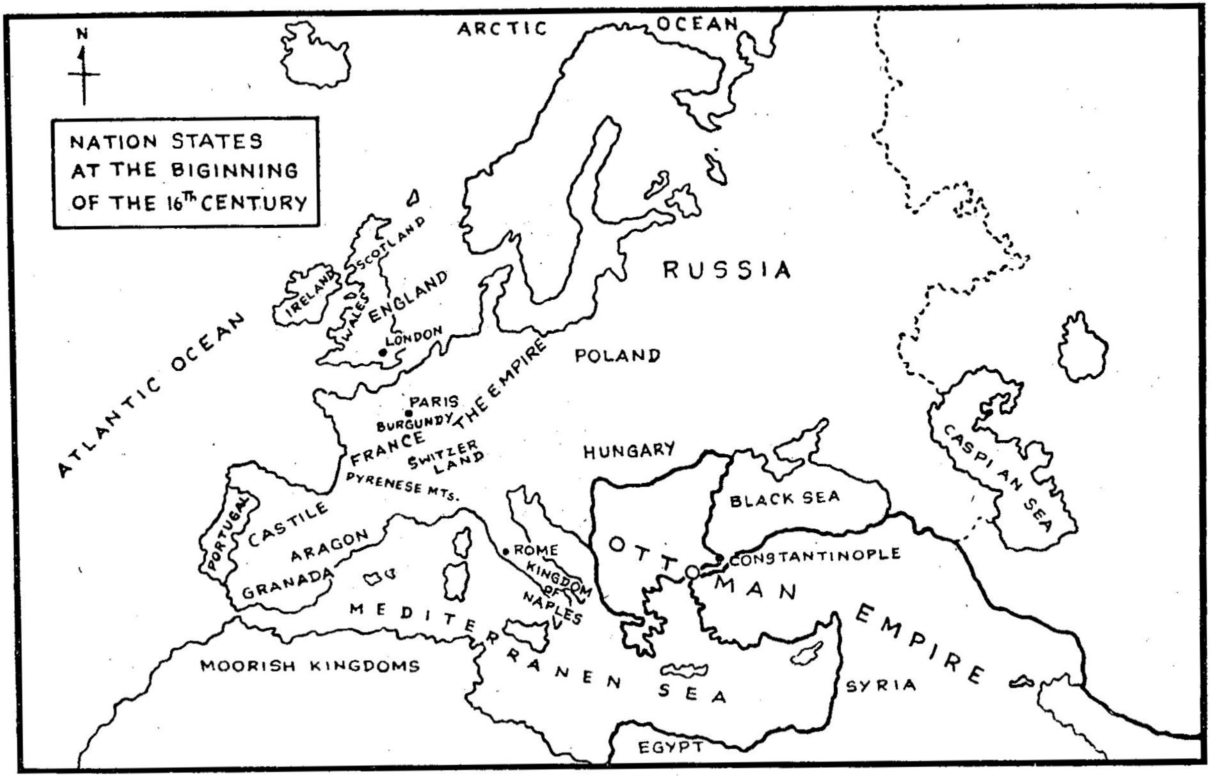

Fig. 4.1 Nation States at the Beginning of the 16th Century

the King in his attempt to bring the barons under the Common Law of the land, even though by so doing they were giving up some of their own rights and liberties.

In this way England became a strong national state under the Tudors. A nation demoralised by a long course of foreign war (Hundred Years' War) and a civil strife (Wars of the Roses) in the Middle Ages returned to peace and unity under Henry VII, the first Tudor King. Nationalism asserted itself in the field of religion in the form of Reformation. Henry VIII became the Supreme Head of the State as well as Church. At the beginning of the 16th century, England was able to find her true line of development in the enlargement of her influence over the British Isles, in the expansion of her commerce and industry and in the foundation of colonies beyond the seas. The Tudor Kings and Queens were regarded as the very embodiment of British Nationalism. English and English culture flowered themselves freely under their rule.

France

While England was thus gathering itself together, other nations in Europe were doing the same. France had suffered even more than England under the feudal system and one great vassal of the French crown, the Duke of Burgundy, had threatened for a time the very existence of the nation. The Duke of Burgundy concluded an alliance with the English King and by the Treaty of Troyes of 1420 the English King was to become the King of France. But as England became a strong nation through the Wars of the Roses, so France became one through the Hundred Years' War. The power of the French feudal lords was broken on the battlefields of Crecy, Poietiers and Agincourt, where many of the best and bravest fell. The feeling of nationality and patriotism was awakened by **Joan of Arc.** This was taken full advantage of by **Louis XI** (1461-1483) who laid the foundations of a strong French monarchy. Louis XI was a great diplomat. He was a perfect Ulysses in cunning and deceit. His maxim was 'He who does not know how to dissimulate does not know how

to reign'. **In** his time **Charles the Bold of Burgundy** was attempting to build up a Kingdom between Germany and France. Louis prevented his efforts from succeeding. He fought with the Duke and intrigued against him. On the death of the Duke, Louis XI annexed a considerable part of his dominions to the French Kingdom. He also added important territories in the south like **Provence, Roussillon and Cerdagne** and made the Pyrenees France's southern frontier.

Charles VIII (1483 - 1498) son and successor of Louis XI married Anne of Britanny and brought that great fief under his direct control. Thus at the beginning of the 16th century France came to have its modern boundaries and a strong national Government to rule over them.

Spain

Until 1479 the Kingdom of Spain did not exist. The Iberian peninsula was divided into four Kingdoms, **Portugal, Castile, Aragon** and **Granada.** The last was in the possession of the Moors. For several centuries the princes of the first three States carried on continuous warfare with the Muslims in Granada, but owing to their dissensions, they were unable to expel the Moors from Spain. But the marriage in 1449 of **Ferdinand** of **Aragon** and **Isabella** of **Castile** led to the union of the two Kingdoms and their combined strength was employed against the Moorish Kingdom in the south. The Moors made a desperate defence and contested every inch of territory. At last Granada was forced to surrender and eight centuries of Muslim rule came to an end. This victory not only made Spain a nation, but gave it a foremost place in European affairs.

Other Countries in Europe

In Germany and Italy the people did not unite to form one strong nation, as they did in England, France and Spain. Germany and Italy were divided into a number of States which were quarrelling with one another until the middle of the 19th century.

In the East of Europe the **Ottoman Turks** captured Constantinople in 1453 and established their power in the Balkan peninsula. The warriors of Hungary and the sailors of Spain and Venice fought against the Turks but could not dislodge them from South-east Europe.

Russia was still sleeping. Between Russia and Germany was the Kingdom of Poland whose rulers took a prominent part in checking Turkish advance into Europe.

Thus in Western Europe countries like England, France and Spain were filled with the spirit of national pride and independence. The mediaeval sense of a common European interest disappeared. There began a period of acute diplomatic rivalry between these strong Continental monarchies governed by the conception of the '**Balance of Power**'.

CHAPTER V

The English Revolution in 1688

A 'Protestant Wind' across the channel brought William of Orange to the English throne in early November 1688. James II responded by dissolving the army, burning the writs for the new Parliament and throwing the Great Seal of England into the Thames. Louis XIV welcomed him to France. England never saw him again.

England was left without a Government. The House of Lords and Councillors of London invited William to lead a provisional Government. Consequently in a convention that met, in a famous resolution, it was stated that James II broke 'the original contract between the King and the people ...... has abdicated, the Government and the throne is hereby vacant'. William and Mary had become joint sovereigns in Feb. 1689 after accepting a Declaration of Rights what later was the Bill of Rights. England would have none of the despotism as in France. In a world of consequence that followed, posterity recognised it not only as the 'Revolution' but as a 'Glorious Revolution'. The success of the revolution made it 'glorious' particularly in providing the opportunities for the peaceful change and in summing up the results of a century old struggle.

The convention which had been recognised as the First Parliament, not only transferred the crown to a new ruler, but specifically spelt out the basis of the new Government. Inferentially it affirmed that Law is above the King, an assumption that everybody knew, but had been violated by James. The Bill did not annihilate Monarchy but gave England a real and working government with a policy acceptable to the people. The old excesses were declared illegal, and the 'right of the subject to petition the king' was affirmed. Freedom of speech in Parliament, fair jury trial were affirmed. Excessive bail and burdensome fines and the maintenance of a standing army in peace without the consent of Parliament were specifically forbidden. All Englishmen have freedom of religion, except the monarch who was always to be an Anglican. Even dissenters practising 'occasional conformity'

participated in Government, the exceptions being the Roman Catholics and Unitarians. The secular experiments of James II were given up. Triennial elections to Parliament were provided for in a separate Act in 1694. Indictment for treason hereafter must necessarily be based on the testimony of 'two lawful witnesses'. Censorship Acts and licencing rules lapsed. No king could make or unmake law by himself.

The crowning piece of Revolutionary Legislation was the Act of Settlement of 1701. A Honovarian succession was assured in the event of the absence of a direct heir to the throne. Good behaviour instead of Kings' pleasure would determine the continuance of Judges which hereafter could be done only through Parliament. The Privy Council would exclusively concern itself with all matters relating to the welfare of the Kingdom. The Nation had grasped sovereignty and the Coronation Oath of 1689 demanded that the governance of the realm would be by Statutes in Parliament, agreed on and the laws and customs of the same.

Kingship by divine right was finished. The law of the land enshrined through Parliament had become apparently supreme. Problems however remained of making the revolution, effective in legislation, administration and law. "The Gentlemen of England" had become the only ruling class, adequately wealthy, populous, educated, self-conscious, and self-reliant to vindicate even their rights of rebellion against tyranny. The confirming challenge was to make the revolution effective in legislation, administration and law.

Chapter VI

Rise and Expansion of the United States of America

In early times a red skinned and hardy race of people, called by the Europeans as Indians, inhabited the Continents of America. They believed that their God, the Great Spirit, created the land for the happiness of all human beings. When the early Europeans reached their land, they took them to their villages and gave them food and extended shelter. However, when more whites reached and their population increased, they occupied the lands from the Indian tribes and developed colonies of their own. While the Spaniards and the Portuguese established their empires in Central and South America, the English and the French estabilished their empires in North America. The English Colonies, thirteen in number, lay along the coast of the Atlantic. The French held possession of the vast plains, drained by the Mississippi-Missouri river system and it was called, Louisiana.

Colonial and commercial rivalry led the English and the French into the arena of war. As the result of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) the English gained their ascendancy in the continent and annexed Canada from the French. Free from any threat of the French invasion, the English decided to tighten their authority over the colonies, while the colonists wanted to be free. This led to a state of conflict and the outbreak of the American War of Independence.

The American War of Independence

The American Revolution broke out in 1776, when the Thirteen English Colonies declared their independence. The causes of this revolution had their origin in the rise of nationalism in the colonies, influence of the developments in Europe and the policy of England. The colonists entertained a bitter memory because their ancestors migrated from the European countries

to America. Independent and adventurous, they founded colonies in a distant land and made large fortunes. When population increased, their resources expanded and the French left the continents they no more found it essential to depend upon England for defence. In the meantime they came under the influence of the revolutionary philosophy that was gaining ground in Europe. They drew their inspiration from the story of the long struggle of English Parliament against the King and the writings of Locke, Sydney, Harrington and Voltaire. However, what served as the immediate cause of the Revolution was the taxation policy of England. Eager to meet the expenditure on the defence of the colonies and to promote the economic welfare of the mother country the administration of George III imposed restrictions upon colonial trade and levied additional taxes. But the colonists declared that as they received no representation in Parliament, it was not competent to tax them. Accordingly they raised the slogan; 'No taxation without representation'.

The situation reached a crisis when the colonists threw chests of tea into the sea from the ships of the English East India Company at Boston in 1773. This was the **Boston Tea Party**. In retaliation England closed the Boston harbour and adopted repressive measures against the colonists.

The leaders of the colonies met at Philadelphia in 1774 and 1775 to discuss the issues and decided to organise resistance. In 1776 they declared their independence and established the United States of America. This marked the beginning of war on a large scale. The radicals took the lead in the struggle while the loyalists extended their support to the French, because of their rivalry with the English went to the aid of the rebels. After initial victories, the British forces suffered serious reverses at Saratoga and Yorktown. By the Treaty of Paris signed in 1783 Great Britain recognized the independence of the colonies. This marked the rise of a republic in America. The causes of the victory of the colonists were: the difficulty experienced by Great Britain in conducting war in a distant country, support of the European

powers to the colonies and familiarity of the colonists with the geography of their land.

The Federalists

The establishment of Independence ushered in political and economic changes of great consequence. In 1781 the leaders framed a constitution called the Articles of Confederation, but it proved unworkable. Therefore in 1787 they adopted the Federal Constitution. It provided for the three branches of government executive, legislature (Congress) and judiciary and created a federal system in which powers were divided between the National Government and the State Governments. The Federalists, who championed this constitution, formed the government with George Washington as the first President of the Republic in 1789. In this administration Alexander Hamilton served as Secretary of the Treasury and Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State. In 1797 when Washington ended his administration, another Federalist, John Adams, was elected to the Presidency.

The Federalist administration was noted for its work towards the consolidation of the republic. It maintained order at home and peace with foreign powers. Through additional taxes and establishment of a bank, it improved the finances of the government. Through a liberal interpretation of the Constitution, the National Government exercised vast powers. Industrialisation made rapid progress. The Jay's Treaty signed with Spain settled the border disputes in the north as well as in the south. The party system too emerged, for Jefferson organised the Republican Party in opposition to the Federalist Party. While the Republicans advocated the rights of the States and interests of the agricultural class, the Federalists supported the supremacy of the National Government and rights of the industrial order. In the election of 1800 the Republican Party captured power with Jefferson as President.

Progress of Democracy

The declaration of independence left the political authority with the aristocratic class. Washington and Hamilton belonged to the aristocratic section of the society. Jefferson too was born as an aristocrat but he and his Republican Party advocated democratic changes. In consequence of their electoral victory power shifted from the mercantile aristocracy of the North-East to the landed aristocracy of the South-West. However the common people gained no real power, for Jefferson believed that unless they could be educated, they could not be entrusted with political authority. Yet with the Republican victory in the election more people came to have a share of political power. The period also witnessed the growth of the powers of the judiciary. In deciding the case, **Marbury *Vs* Madison,** John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, asserted the right of the judiciary to examine whether a legislation was in consonance with the Constitution or not. If it agreed with the Constitution a Law was valid and if otherwise, not. This is called judicial review.

In the election of 1816 another Republican, James Munroe captured the Presidency. His administration was marked by the absence of any party rivalry. In 1823 because of the possibility of Russian expansion from Alaska to the south and European intervention in Latin America against the revolting colonies of Spain, the President formulated the Munroe Doctrine. It announced the opposition of the United States against further colonisation of America by European powers, and political intervention of European powers in the States of America. The United States on her part promised not to interfere in the existing colonies of European powers in America and in the wars of European powers on issues relating to themselves. This doctrine, which in effect meant that America was for the Americans, served as a cardinal principle of the foreign policy of the nation.

The election of Jackson to the Presidency in 1828 marked a victory for the Democratic Forces. Considered as a man of the

masses, he supported majority rule, right of the voters to exercise power and economic opportunities for all citizens. Accordingly, he used his powers to protect the interests of the common people, to promote the organisation of trade unions and to establish free houses and public schools for the benefit of the masses. In fact the period witnessed the advance of the country towards Democracy. This coincided with similar changes in Europe.

Territorial Expansion

When the United States won her independence, the country extended from the Atlantic coast to the river Mississippi. Florida was held by Spain, Louisiana by France and the South West region by Mexico. The Indian tribes inhabited vast areas in the United States and beyond. As a result of victories in wars and settlement of treaties, the United States occupied the territories, from the Indian tribes and the European powers. In consequence the country expanded from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

From early times the Indians entertained bitter grievances against the Americans. They rightly felt that the land belonged to them, yet the whites took away the country through war and treachery. The Americans sent forces to the Indian villages, bribed the tribal chieftains to cede the lands, administered intoxicating drugs to the tribals and destroyed the Indian villages by spreading contagious diseases like cholera and small pox. For fear of death and destruction, the tribes evacuated their territories in the east and withdrew to the interior in the west, yet 'they would soon arrive at the end, fall off, and never be heard of more'. Confronted with this ominous possibility, the Indian tribes led by their talented leader, Tecumseh, organised themselves into a confederacy. It was their objective to isolate themselves from the United States and seek self preservation by a policy of non-co-operation with Americans. However, the United States was not prepared to leave them free. In 1811 the American forces invaded Tippecanoe, the capital of the confederacy, and destroyed it. Greatlyannoyed, the Indians joined the side of the

English against the Americans, when the war of 1812 broke out. They assisted the English in the defence of Canada but were defeated. Tecumseh died fighting in a battle fought on the bank of the river Thames in Canada in 1813. This was followed by the surrender of the Creek Indians in the south and destruction of the Indian confederacy. Great Britain settled peace with the United States by the Treaty of Ghent in 1813 and the Indian tribes were forced to cede vast territories to the United States. Jackson waged more wars against the tribes and expelled them to the territories beyond the Mississippi where they perished.

In 1803 the United States acquired possession of the vast territory of Louisiana. This marked the beginning of the westward expansion of the country. Extending over the vast plains from the Mississippi to the Rockies, and inhabited by the Indians, Louisiana belonged to France. Napoleon Bonaparte decided to establish an empire in North America but abandoned his project as the result of the reverses that his army suffered at the hands of the Negroes of Haiti. In consequence he offered the sale of the territory to the United States. Accordingly, the administration of Jefferson agreed to pay fifteen million dollars as the price and acquired possession of the country. In 1819 President Munroe signed a settlement with Spain and annexed Florida in the south.

The great migrations contributed to the American expansion westward. Moving across the plains, pioneers in wave after wave of migration reached California, Oregon and Texas. As the American population increased, in her territory of Texas, Mexico experienced difficulties and imposed restrictions upon the settlers. But in 1836 the American settlers rose in rebellion, defeated the Mexican troops and declared the independence of Texas. In the far west the United States as well as Great Britain disputed the possession of Oregon. However, by a settlement in 1846 the two powers divided the Oregon Country between themselves.

From 1846 to 1848 the United States fought a major war with Mexico. The cause of the war was the American greed for

Mexican territories. California and New Mexico, noted for their vast resources and pleasant climate, belonged to Mexico but the United States coveted possession of these territories. The settlers moved in strength into these areas and caused disturbances. In 1845 the Congress passed a resolution for the annexation of Texas. To aggravate the situation the United States claimed the Mexican territories extending up to Rio Grande. President Polk sent a Mission to Mexico to prevail upon that country to surrender its territcries but the attempt failed. Thereupon he sent the forces to the Mexican territory and declared war. Now three expeditions moved against Mexico-one to the north, another to California and the third to Mexico City. Santa Anna, President of Mexico, fought major battles at Buena Vista and Mexico City, but was defeated. By the Treaty of Gudalupe Hidalgo, signed in 1848, the United States annexed from Mexico the territories of California and New Mexico. Rio Grande was accepted as the boundary between the two countries. As a result Mexico lost half of her territory while the United States emerged as a Pacific power. In 1868 she purchased Alaska from Russia.

The territorial expansion was of great consequence in the history of the United States. She destroyed the Indian tribes and threw their lands for white colonisation. Mexico lost her vast territories and seized to be a major power. The European powers, Great Britain, France and Spain lost their influence, while the United States emerged as a great power. However, the territorial expansion created internal problems. The slave holding South and the non-slave holding North entered into a keen rivalry for the extension of their influence to the newly acquired territories. This led to the outbreak of the Civil War. In the end the Union emerged triumphant and marched irresistibly to greatness.

Chapter VII

French Revolution and Napoleon

French Revolution

In the eighteenth century the word 'Revolution' came to have a new meaning. Traditionally it meant only a change in the composition of Government and not necessarily a violent one. Since 1789 this changed. 'Revolution' was characterized by limitless possibilities for change: social, political and economic.

The Transatlantic Revolution which began in America was creating a sense of awareness in most European Nations. Frenchmen were especially aware of it. Though there is much dispute amongst historians, as to how the French Revolution began, what was its essence, how long it went on and what were its results, they are all agreed upon one basic fact–that it changed the concept of Revolution.

France in the 18th century was considered the most progressive country in Europe, playing a dominant international role. Still it contained many feudal elements in its social structure. There were the three traditional orders or estates in society-the Higher Clergy, the first Estate which included Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots, the Nobility the second Estate and the Commoners the third Estate. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries an additional group of officials and professional men came into existence the Bourgeoisie (which literally means city or town dwellers). Though in strict law they belonged to the Third Estate, its members enjoyed certain special privileges which made them distinct from others.

Out of France's twenty five million people only 200,000 belonged to the privileged classes. These were the Clergy and

Nobility. These two orders controlled half of the Nations's land, monopolized the best positions in the Church, Army and Government and evaded much of the taxations. Owning property valued at nearly a billion dollars the Clergy were exempt from taxation although from time to time free gifts were made to the government. The highest ranks of the Church were often filled by nobles who had no interest in religious affairs. Enjoying huge incomes, these church dignitaries paid subordinates to perform their duties while they enjoyed a life of frivolity at, the court. The second estate, numbering about 110,000 nobles represented a privileged group similar to the clergy. Exempt from the taille an especially heavy tax, yet recipient of the income from about one fifth of the land, the nobles failed to contribute their fair share towards the maintenance of the State. Many nobles were absentee land lords whose properties were managed by stewards, while their masters squandered their rents in ostentatious expenditure at Versailles.

More than 95% of the people belonged to the third Estate or the underprivileged class. This group comprised the peasants, the middle class, or bourgeoisie made up of merchants, bankers, and professional men and the city artisans. The bourgeoisie were an up coming class with great hopes of improving their social and economic prospects. In the 18th century, France underwent a remarkable economic development of which the bourgeoisie were the chief beneficiaries. The bourgeoisie aimed at getting political power and social prestige over and above the economic power they already possessed. The peasants, 80% of the population, were saddled with intolerable burdens. Various kinds of taxes nearly took away 50% of a peasant's income. Although serfdom had practically disappeared, the peasant suffered many vestiges of their mediaeval subordination. He had to use the Lord's mill for grinding his corn and the Lord's vine press for getting his wine. Heavy fines were imposed by the Lords on those peasants who failed to follow this. Fishing, hunting and the keeping of pigeons were exclusively reserved for the nobility. Game might destroy crops, but the peasants were forbidden to molest the deer and rabbits. Grain fields were often

trampled underfoot by noble hunting parties and swarms of pigeons from noble dovecotes gobbled up newly planted seed. The Lords still collected feudal dues in money and they also required onerous physical service from the peasants.

Thoughtful Frenchmen were irked at the confusion prevailing in government; they were enraged at the discrimination and injustices prevailing not only in the Social structure but also in the Legal system. There was no uniform law code for whole country. There were about 400 different systems of law ranging from the Roman Law to German Law. The laws being written in Latin were not comprehensive to the people. Torture and cruel punishment for mild offences were a common feature. Lettre de Cachet (Letters of Warrant) was a powerful weapon in the hands of the privileged classes. These 'Warrants' facilitated the imprisonment and detention of any person whom the noble wished to imprison or punish. Issued under the authority of the king, the under-privileged could not raise their voice against this cruelty. The nobles used these Lettre de Cachet rather indiscriminately.

The government of France in the eighteenth Century though highly centralized was in fact an inefficient despotism. England had already secured for herself a constitutional monarchy in 1689. France in 1789 still had an absolute monarchy founded upon Divine Right. Louis XIV kept this kind of monarchy going by painstaking efforts, by his personality and will power. Louis XV left the burden of government on his Ministers. He was under the Tyranny of favourites of whom the most famous was Madame de Pompadour. The Louis XVI who had to bear the full brunt of the Revolution, was a misfit as a King. Besides he was very much under the influence of his beautiful and meddlesome wife, - Marie Antoinette, referred to as 'the Austrian woman'.

The revenue of the government of France was derived from a multplicity of taxes of which the taille was the most important. It was a land-tax levied on the produce of non-noble lands (Noble and ecclesiastical lands were exempt). This tax was

burdensome due to the inequalities of assessment and the Vagaries of collectors. With the taille was usually demanded a poll-tax. The vingtieme was an income-tax of five percent, from **which** also the privileged could secure exemption. Perhaps the most vexatious of all French taxes was the gabelle, or salt tax, as the sale of salt was a government monopoly. Certain of the taxes were formed. Capitalists, known as taxfarmers, made contracts with the government for a period of years; in return for a sum of money paid they received the privilege of collecting a tax, and the difference between the sum collected and that paid to the government represented their profit.

The conditions of French finance in the eighteenth Century was deplcrable. Owing to exemptions, inequalities of assessment, extortions of the tax-farmers and the corruptions of collection, the amount received by the State was much less than that paid by the people. Further, the war which occurred from time to time involved a heavy drain upon State resources, and all times the lavish expenditure of the court from the days of Louis XIV caused serious embarassment to the finance ministers. Turgot the French Finance Minister who tried to grapple with the problem was met with much opposition and was soon dismissed.

To more and more Frenchmen, it now appeared that France needed a transformation of her government and constitutional structure if she was to emerge from her difficulties. This feeling was intensified by the spirit of intellectual activity. What helped very much to create and canalize the intellectual ferment was the movement in 18th Century Europe known as the Enlightenment. The writers of the Enlightenment were known as philosophers. They were more publicists, propagandists and moulders of public opinion than professional philosophers. The movement (if such a term may be applied to this out burst of intellectual activity) was in the main destructive. The philosophers had little knowledge and less understanding of the past, and their speculation had failed to stand the test of subsequent investigation, and criticism. To pour contempt upon the Church, the monarchy,

the financial system and the privileges of the aristocracy was easier than to propound alternatives based on sound principles.

Montesquiev was one of the most serious and profound thinkers of his time. His 'Spirit of the Laws' contained a ruthless analysis and criticism of the French system in comparison with of that of Great Britain, where the author had stayed for some time. He advocated the British system of separation of powers-executive, legislative and judicial. This doctrine played its part in the controvercies of the constitution makers at the time of the French Revolution.

The influence of Voltaire extended over many years. His views are to be found in his numeroı essays, poems, dramas, pamphlets and philosophical and historical work. Everything which conflicted with the dictates of human reason earned his condemnation. Voltaire in his works recommended many specific reforms such as the abolition of serfdom and feudal privilege, and of the exemption from taxation. His most searching criticism was turned towards the organized Church and its Clergymen.

The Encyclopaedia, a compilation in twenty eight volumes which professed to cover the whole range of human knowledge, was issued between 1751 and 1765. Many of the philosophers of the time contributed to it. It denounced many of the prevalent abuses and strengthened the attitude of criticism of existing institutions which was becoming so widespread in France. The physiocrats of the whom the most prominent were Quesney, Turgot, Mirabeau advocated the natural order of society by the abolition of the restrictions and regulations which had grown up and what has since been termed Laissez faire. They turned their attention to the importance of agriculture and advocated free trade.

Jean Jacques Rousseau was the one real revolutionary among the Philosophers. In his Social Contract, published in 1762, Rousseau asserted that civil society originated in a contract. This had already been advocated by Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, Rousseau denounced the existing contract. The remedy he

suggested was drawing up a contract on fairer terms catering to the poor. Rousseau propounded the idea of the sovereignty of the people. He considered the people were all sovereigns in their own right. The laws of the country Rousseau considered were an expression of the general will of the Sovereign. As sovereignty rested with the people no government or king could snatch that away from them. In short Rousseau advocated the theory of direct Democracy.

The role of the Philosophers in the growth of Public opinion emphasised anti Monarchical trends (and thereby opposition to the monarchy developed.) After the middle of the eighteenth Century the Parlement of Paris, privileged and unrepresentative as it was, became the organ of constitutional oppositions to the crown, and in its attitude it was supported by the provincial Parlement. The parlements protested, against fresh proposals of taxation. Riots sometimes occurred. Turgot, one of the greatest financiers of France tried to improve France's finance. He attacked the extravagance of the administration and wanted to limit the expenditure of the court. After investigating various illegal exemptions granted to the nobles, he insisted on the payment of certain taxes bv them. He expected the opposition of clergy and nobles. As he the retained the support of the king he was able to press forward his reforms. But the opposition reinforced by the Queen, became too strong and Louis was induced to dismiss his ablest minister. From that time the Revolution became inevitable. Turgot's successor Clugny undid Turgot's work. He revived the corvee, guilds and internal customs on some commodities. He was succeeded by Necker, who was honest and a good man of business, but who was timid and irresolute. His period of office corresponded with the American War of Independence. The war was a burden on the already weakened finances of France. Hence Necker raised some fresh taxes, but he encouraged the extragavant spending of the court for he thought this would instil confidence in the people. By the end of 1786, no further taxes could be raised. France was bankrupt.

Calonne the Controller-General advised the king to summon the Assembly of Notables. In this he suggested the levy of a new

land-tax from which there was to be no exemption. Instead of accepting his proposals the notobles had him dismissed from his office. This post was held by various personalities whose terms were full of public excitement and intense discontent. The members of the Parlement, who had all along been resisting the new proposals now demanded for the convocation of the States-General. It was to meet on 5th May, 1789, at Versailles. Necker who was now reinstated as the Financial Controller tried to improve the credit of the government.

The election to the States-General now took place in an embittered atmosphere. Thus a complex interplay of governmental impotence social injustice, economic hardship and reforming aspiration brought about the French Revolution. But no one either anticipated it or desired it. What did not exist was a party of revolution clearly confronting a party of reaction. These only came into existence when the States General had met.

When the delegates from the three orders met, a controversy developed over the method of voting. In the original States General, established by Philip the Fair in the fourteenth Century, each of the classes-the clergy, nobles and commoners had voted as separate units. But that was before the Third Estate had gained some importance. In succeeding centuries the bourgeoisie had grown to be the most powerful economic group in the nation. It was therefore inevitable that bourgeoisie leaders should now be dissatisfied with an arrangement whereby the votes of the two upper classes could negative anything the Third Estate proposed.

Determined to count for something in the 1789 session of the States General, the deputies representing the Third Estate made two demands which were in themselves revolutionary the ' doubling ' of the Third Estate i. e. there should be a number equal to the combined strength of the First and Second Estates; and Secondly a single chamber, i. e. the deputies of the Three Estates should meet and vote as one House. Though king Louis XVI granted the doubling of the Third Estate, he would not concede to the demand for voting as a single chamber. There fore in the summer of 1789 the Third Estate turned itself into a

National Assembly claiming sovereignty. The majority of its members now claimed to represent all Frenchmen without distinction. The Third Estate now invited the deputies of the First and Second Estates to join them in this National Assembly. They also vowed never to dispense until they had given a constitution to France. Under the leadership of Mirabeau and Abbe Sieyes the commoners assembled at the hall on the morning of June 20. But finding its doors guarded by troops, withdrew to a nearby hall variously used as a riding academy and a tennis court. Here they bound themselves by a solemn oath not to separate until they had drafted a constitution for France. This was the real beginning of the French Revolution. To the two privileged orders this posed a dilemma whether to be for the Revolution or against it. They were soon called left and right, (because of the places in which they sat in the assembly). Nevertheless some of the more enlightened and forward looking of the clergy and Nobility went over to the Third Estate and were regarded as traitors and renegades by their own classes.

From June 1789 to August 1792 the destinies of France were in the hands of the National Assembly, dominated by the leaders of the Third Estate. Following a rumour that the king was concentrating troops at Versailles as a means of brow-beating the Assembly, a Parisian mob attacked the Bastille, the hated symbol of the old regime. This grim fortress had been built to guard one of the gates of the city of Paris. As the city grew beyond the original walls Bastille came to be used as a prison. Kings banished political enemies to its grim dungeons. Late in the 18th century apparently the Bastille was no longer the terrible place it was supposed to be for it contained in 1789 just seven prisoners; the fortress was stormed and its defenders slain. Again in October came another disquieting instance of mob violence. Suffering from lack of food and aroused at the news that the king was unwilling to co-operate with the reforms in the Assembly, a Parisian mob composed of women and a few men dressed as women marched on Versailles where they encamped near the palace land. The mob was adamant that the royal family should return to Paris and after a night of terror, the king agreed. The next day a procession of more than

thirty thousand people marched with the royal coach back to Paris yelling "We have the baker and baker's wife and the little cook boy, now we shall have bread".

This stage was a moderate middle-class stage. Aside from the destruction of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, and the murder of a few members of the royal guard, there was compatatively little violence in Paris or Versailles. In some of the country dis-tricts, however, a more unruly spirit prevailed due to the impati-ence of the peasants, who set out to destroy what they could of the old regime.

The main task which the National Assembly set itself was the writing of a constitution, but in the process it transformed the whole institutional structure of France. Before 1791 it had nati-onalized the lands of the Church, abolished what it termed 'the feudal system', ended censorship created a system of centralized representative government, created 'departments' under which Frenchmen still lived, instituted equality before the law by the Declaration of the Rights of man and separated the executive from the legislative power. The 'Declaration of the Rights' of man was of historic importance because it was a summation of the spirit of constitutional government and political liberaltism between the glorious revolution in England in 1688 and the revolt of the English colonies in 1775.

By September 1791 the National Constituent Assembly had formulated a new plan of government which, in effect made Louis XVI a constitutional monarch, for he was now 'Louis by the grace of God and the constitution, King of the State'.

The king was deprived of the control he had formerly exer-cised over the army, the church and local government. His ministers were forbidden to sit in the Assembly, and he was shorn of all power over the legislative process except a suspensive veto, which could be overridden by the vetoes of the three successive Assemblies. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790) deprived the clergy of all its privileges and made the Catholic Church a National Church or a State Department. The members of the

clergy high and low were required to take an oath of allegiance to the Civil Constitution.

The new regime, however, did not get support from the King and further it was rent by internal factionalism. The party of the Right supported the king and was quite satisfied with the achievements of the moderate revolution. Seated in the middle of the Assembly were the representatives who had no particular programme or principles. Next to the apathetic centre were the Deputies of the Left, dynamic, aggressive young radicals, who completely distrusted the King, who not satisfied with the constitution of 1791, wanted the revolution to continue.

The Civil constitution of the clergy was opposed by Pope Pius VI and consequently a large number of the clergy refused to take the oath of fidelity. These Nonjuring priests as they were called were supported by the peasants in the Vende (districts) who also wanted constitutional changes in religious. The artisam workers were against the Legislative Assembly for they thought that it was a selfish middle class Assembly, depriving them of their rights despite the high-sounding Declaration of the Rights of man (The constituent Assembly did not make provision for the poorer peasants to purchase lands and the payments fixed for the purchases were too high)

The cause of the common people was not without strong champions. Enthusiastic Radicals met in the convent of the Jacobin Frian. Their programme was the overthrow of the monarchy and greater justice and opportunity for the masses. With Paris as the centre, Jacobin Clubs spread all over the country.

Most prominent in Jacobin circles were Jean Paul Marat, George Jacquees Danton and Maximilian Robespiere. In Paris, the Jacobin leaders began to see the possibility of using the masses, the proletariat, as the necessary instrument of force to sweep away the monarchy. In the spring of 1792, on the pretext that more armed forces were essential to protect the capital from invasion, contingents of men were recruited throughout France and sent to Paris. These forces the 'federates' were selected mainly by the

various local Jacobin Clubs in the country and were prepared to carry out the commands of men like Danton, Robespiere and Marat.

Another opposition to the Legislative Assembly came from the emigre nobles. These nobles had fled the country and taken refuge mostly in various states along the Rhine, for the constitutional monarchy and civil constitution the clergy were too radical for their reactionary mentality. To the Jacobins the constitution of 1791 had not gone far enough; to the envignes emigres nobles it had gone too far. These exceed nobles passed the time plotting against the government in France.

The emigres found receptive ears for their conspiracies and mechination. Many German Bishops and Princes who had lands in French Alsace, were indignant over the abolition of feudal dues. Further they were frightened that happenings in France would influence their own peasants. The Pope for his part opposed both nationalization of the French Church and the annexation of papal teritories of Avignon and Venaissin in the South of France.

The rulers of the large European states hoped that factionalism in France would weaken its power. Leopold II of Austria, brother of the French Queen, concerned over her safety. issued the Declaration of Pillnitz (in August 1791) with the King of Prunia. In it he stated that the restoration of order and of the power of monarchy in France was of 'common interest to all sovereigns of Europe'.

Nearly all factions in France favoured war each for a different reason. The King and the emigre nobles thought that the war would discredit the Government and the Ancien regime could be established again. The radicals, especially a faction called the Girondins, who at first formed part of the Jacobin organization, felt that the war would discredit monarchy and give them a chance to rise to power and establish a republic. France declared war on Austria on April 20, 1792. Prussia shortly afterwards joined Austria. While eager for war the French were utterly unprepared for it. Fortunately for the French, the

Austrians and Prussians were soon involved in the Second Partition of Poland. But soon under the Duke of Brunswick the Prussian and Austrian armies began to roll again. The Duke in one of the addresses stated that any harm done to the royal family would inflict complete destruction of Paris. In the minds of many Franchmen, and especially among the masses in Paris and their Jacobin leaders, the declaration was proof positive that the King was in league with the foreign invader. His attempted flight from France and subsequent capture confirmed their suspicions. Thereupon a large mob-extreme radicals and city proletariat-converged upon the King's palace, the Tuileries, stormed the palace and man-handled a number of the King's loyal swiss guards. Meanwhile the Assembly suspended monarchy and called for election of a National Convention to make the necessary changes in the Country's constitution. As the Austrian and Prussian forces hemmed in on Paris, the Commune of Paris resorted to a whole sale massacre. On September 2, news reached that the fortress of Verdun had fallen to Prussian and Austrian armies. The authorities shot off the alarm gun and called all available men to take up arms. As reinforcements were sent off to the front, the Paris Commune took good care that no traitors were left behind at home. Many citizens believed that counter-revolutionaries in league with the Austrians would try to seize power. The response was the massacre of royalists in Paris. All suspected of sympathy for the monarchy were butchered. The non-juring priest and suspected nobles were executed without trial. The main objective of this terror was to cow the opponents of the revolution at home so that the government could muster all of its strength in hurling back the foreign invader. During the period from September 2 to September 7 nearly 2,000 suspected royalist were killed.

Following the suspension of monarchy, France proclaimed September 22, 1792 as year I of the Republic (The ex-king Louis XVI was now a prisoner in fear of his life) All males 21 years and above were to elect the new convention.

On the very day the National convention first net news was received that the enemy had been checked and the France had begun to take the offensive. The fate of Louis XVI was soon settled. His trial began in December 11, 1792 and the final vote was taken in the National Convention on January 14. The death of the King was made more or less certain when a secret casket was discovered in the Tuileries in which there were secret documents showing that Louis had carried on treasourable correspondence with the 'emigres'. The execution of Louis XVI was carried out on January 21, 1793. On the scaffold the king acted with quiet dignity and splended fortitude. Louis XVI can neither be praised nor blamed for his action during the decisive years from 1789-92. He was part of a social system, a symbol of a political philosophy which had been accepted in France, and indeed in all of Europe, for hundreds of years. He had been trained and conditioned to accept absolute monarchy. To expect him to have the foresight necessary for accepting the new order is to expect too much. Louis XVI played the game as he thought it should be played, not understanding that the rules had been changed.

In the fall of 1792 French armies gained some notable successes. The French revolutionary leaders began to realize that in the name of liberty their army could overthrow tyrannical kings and at the same time extend the national frontiers of France.

In the face of what appeared to be the growing imperialism of the French revolutionaries, aimed at destroying monarchy all over Europe and threatening the balance of power, Spain, Holland England, and Sardinia joined Prussia and Austria forming the First coalition to wage war on the French Republic. The spring of 1793 saw the armies of the First coalition on the March. Menaced by foes from without France was also rent by strife within. In the National Convention leadership was contested by two dynamic and ambitious factions — the Girondins who feared too radical reforms and the Jacobin representatives who wanted to abolish inequalities of wealth with the help of the Par.s commune.

The Girondins were ousted from the convention and later arrested. Some of the girondins escaped to provinces, and organized rebellion against the tyranny of the radicals in Paris. The royalist Catholics rose again in rebellion in the Vendee. This disorder weakened the country's economy, food became scarce and bread riots broke out in Paris.

To meet the challenge of rebellion at home the Government of the National convention formed a committee of general security to ferret out traitors, judge them by a revolutionary tribunal and Guillotine them. By the law of Suspects any person of noble birth, anyone having contact with an emigre and anyone not possessing a certificate of citizenship was liable for arrest. The establishment of the Committee of Public Safety inaugurated the reign of terror. Perhaps as many as 25,000 were executed in Paris and the Province.

With subversive activity crushed at home, the Republic turned its attention to the foreign danger. Compulsory military service for all men between 18 and 40 was introduced in France. Carnot a member of the Committee of Public Safety, was the 'Organizer of defence'. Under his enthusiastic leadership new armies were drilled. In the army, military seniority was discarded and brilliant young generals were given the highest commands. To keep an eye on the armies Danton sent out 'Deputies on Mission' to detect any weak or Treacheous officers.

During 1794 - 95 the new French armies carried out a series of great campaigns. By 1795 the First coalition had practically dissolved. Charles IV of Spain had to humbly make an alliance with the republic. William II of Prussia gave France a freehand in the left bank of the Rhine. Holland in alliance with France charged into the Batavian Republic. Only Great Britain, Austria and Sardinia remained at war with France.

While the French armies rolled back the invader, the Reign of Terror continued at home. The Guillotine apart from claiming the girondins also claimed the queen-Marie Antoinette as its

victim. Robespiere had now become the dominent figure in the government controlling the all-powerful committee of Public Safety.

Victory had been secured by the French armies by 1794 and all internal plots and revolts stamped out. There was now no justification for the continuance of the Terror. But some baratics including Robespiere wished to continue it to cleanse the republic of its lukewarm politicians. To Pschew excesses of wealth, Robespiere wanted to pursue his policy. While Robespiere professed to love humanity and said that he wanted to establish a government where love and justice would prevail, he had no compunctions about destroying those who opposed him, even republicans who were inclined to disagree with his fanantial views. While a bewildered Paris looked on, all courageous leaders of the revolution - were executed.

Eventually, disgusted at the unnecessary bloodshed instigated by Robespiere, the members of the convention revolted against his leadership, arrested him and sent him to the guillotine, where so many of his innocent victims had already met an unjust fate.

The period of the Jacobin Republic from 1792 - 1794 also tried to experiment in religion. There was a strong anti-Christian movement. The Churches were closed and religious images were destroyed. The Convention wanted to create a new form of religion. They also adopted a new calender that did away with 'Sabbath and the Saints' days. The anti-Christian movement reached a climax in the festival of Reason held in Paris in November 1793. A number of deputies wearing red liberty caps marched to the Cathedral of Notre Dame to consecrete the church to the worship of reason and to enthrone an actress as the Goddess of Reason. This cult of Reason went too far for Robespiere, who proceeded to substitute a new religion based upon belief in a supreme being, life and liberty, the Human Race and other idealistic concepts. (One of the fore-runners of Mother's Day in the U. S.)

While experiments were being made with a republican religion, everything that (smacked of) royalty and privilege was discarded. Knee breeches, symbol of the aristocracy, were declared unpatriotic. In their place was substituted long trousers. Titles were discarded and the proper form of address became 'Citizen', and 'Citizenen'.

Both men and women gave up the old aristocratic wig and powdered hair. Men adopted moustache as the symbol of Virility and patriotism. It was unpatriotic to wear jewellery although women could wear revolutionary breeches representing the head of Marat, the Revolution, or the Fall of the Bastille. Homes contained busts of Mirabeau, stones from the Bastille used as paper weights, and miniature toy guillotines as toys for the children. Kings and Queens were definitely out of fashion, so new packs of cards were designed featering Liberty, Equality and so on. Names had to be changed. Streets formerly named after kings or nobles now bore names commemorating revolutionary events and heroes. Man changed their names, especially those whose Christian names were Louis. It is said that even the Queen Bee received attention, her name being changed to 'laying Bee'.

France rocked from crisis to crisis in the years following the Reign of Terror — 1794 - 1799. New constitutions were framed but political and social confusion and insecurity continued. The fall of Robespiere initiated what is known as the Thermidorean Reaction Frenchmen hoped that the long period of excesses was over, that the nation would bind up its wounds and settle down to a period of tranquility and repose. Thousands of suspects were freed. The laws of Robespiere were repealed, the Paris Commune was dissolved and the extraordinary powers of the committee of public safety and the Revolutionary tribunal were swept away. In Paris gangs of young men, went around attacking Jacobins, and in the provinces there was a veritable 'White Tenor' against the radicals. The Jacobin club was closed, the Catholic Churches were re-opened.

Conservatism was now the order of the day. It was not that the people wanted to go back to the 'old days'. They passionately wanted to see the gains of the Revolution safeguarded and perpetuated, but they were tired of extremists and fanatics.

The convention had not spent all its energies hunting suspects. It accomplished certain reforms like planning a national system of education ; ending of negro slavery in French Colonies, establishing a metric system of weights and measures, the abolition of primo-geniture, the exclusive right of inheritance for first-born children. In addition the Convention drafted a new system of government compose of two legislative Chambers and anexecutive body of five members, called directors.

THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD

Centuries do not usually end so punctually as the French eighteenth century did with the year 1799 ; for both its sudden conclusion and its persistence the chief responsibility must be attributed to Bonaparte. With his sense of realism, executive capacity and ruthless strength of will he wrote finis to the doubts and fears of the revolutionaries, and imposed out of the materials to hand, a new fashioned framework on France.

The Directory assumed power in 1795, but soon proved to be an impotent government. It deputed three armies to invade Austria, with the hope of smashing the remnant of the first coalition. Though two of these failed, the one led by an obscure general, Napoleon Bonaparte, won astounding success, that the Austrians were brought to their knees by the Treaty of Campo Formio. Only Great Britain, remained at war with France.

With the consent of the Directory, Napoleon proceeded to Egypt to crush the English colony there. But the Turkish forces were too ferocious to be won over and the English Admiral won the Mediterranean fleet of Napoleon at the Battle

of the Nile (1798). Meanwhile, hearing that the Directory was becoming incompetent to cope with France's various problems, Napoleon deserting his army managed to get into France. He roused the French populace with his 'thrilling' victories in Egypt, carefully avoiding his failures. Invasion by a second coalition against France was imminent. The finances of the country had not been improved. Faced with ruin and invasion the French turned to the one man they thought might save the day — Napoleon Bonaparte "the man of destiny". All was ready for a great general to concentrate the newly released forces on a great centralized despotism and direct them into a bid for world empire.

Napoleon swept the effete Directory from power and created a new government called the Consulate with all the powers centralized in the first consul Napoleon. The original proposals for the new Constitution came from the self-appointed Solon of the Revolution, Sieyes. His proposal for drawing the teeth of democratic sovereignty by attributing the right of voting to electors nominated from above — 'authority must come from above and confidence from below' to quote his new-style formula for democracy - suited Bonaparte well enough, as did the various devices for preventing the legislative chambers from exercising any real power. But Bonaparte was determined that he himself, as First Consul, should have effective and undivided executive authority. The two other consuls were to be little more than rubber stamps. The result of his revision of the constitutional proposals was that whereas the Age of Divine-right Monarchy had ended in 1789, the Age of Dictatorship began in 1799. Sieyes who had written the birth-certificate of the Revolution also signed its death warrant. In a virtual plebiscite on the Constitution the people performed overwhelmingly for general Bonaparte - 3,011,007 voted for and only 1,562 against.

No sooner was Bonaparte installed in power than the First Consul set about consolidating his position by winning over,

through personal charm, as well as material favours, men all parties, revolutionary or royalist, so long as they were willing to forget their principles in his service. The outlines of a new administrative structure for France were drawn up and put into effective operation. A peace offensive was launched by personal letters from the First Consul to George III and the Emperor.

When the year 1800 opened, the military situation was unpromising. The remnants of the defeated French army of Italy were still hanging on in Genoa in imminent danger of starvation, and their final collapse would open the door into France. Therefore, leaving Moreau in charge of an offensive on the Rhine, Bonaparte hastily gathering an army, descended on Italy. The campaign which followed was confused and unplanned. The decisive clash of the French and Austrians at Marengo on 14th June 1800 took Bonaparte by surprise, with his army scatered. However he was saved in the nick of the time, by the arrival of a division of the army, which he had sent earlier. By the battle of Marengo Lombardy was regained and France was relieved from the threat of an Austrian invasion.

Peace with victory was now within reach. The Holy Roman Emperor threatened by French armies acknowledged defeat. By the Treaty of Luneville, in February 1801, French possessions on the left bank of the Rhine and the French satellite states in northern Italy, Switzerland and the Dutch regions - were recognized. The hereditary princes of the Empire who lost territory on the left bank of the Rhine were to be compensated within Germany, and France as a party to the Treaty was to participate in the process of territorial redistribution. This was to open the door to large-scale French intervention in the Holy Roman Empire (Now only England remained in the way.)

To ensure her isolation Bonaparte negotiated the Armed Neutrality with Russia to oppose British attacks on neutral shipping, but the assassination of Paul I of Russia dislocated it. Meanwhile the new British Government was ready to come to terms with

France thereby Britain reluctantly gave away a large part of her conquests at the expense of former allies. In March 1802 the Treaty of Amiens was signed. The peace for France had been achieved ; Bonaparte could now proceed to collect the fruits of victory

The transition from Consulate to Empire was effected with the aid of victories abroad and plots at home. In December 1800 there was a vain bid to assassinate Napoleon, by a group of royalists. But he seized the opportunity to eliminate the unrecoiled Jacobins, whom he regarded as his more dangerous opponents.

The signature of the Treaty of Amiens enabled Bonaparte to secure the passing, of a new plebiscite making him Consul for life. This sparked a new attempt on Bonaparte's life in 1803, under Cadoudal a royalist supporter. Napoleon now decided that the royalists must be taught a lesson as the Jacobins had been. After the vendetta on Cadoudal and his associates, Napoleon used this appropriate opportunity to transform the First Consul into the Emperor. The Senate, duly prompted, passed the necessary legislative measures and the subsequent plebiscite to the establishment of a hereditary Empire. The religious sanction was the one thing lacking, to make him a real Emperor. It was also achievable. Pius VII agreed to perform the ceremony of crowning Napoleon in Notre-Dame. Anointed by the Pope, Napoleon himself placed the crown on his head on December 2, 1804.

When he became the First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte was only thirty years old, but already marked as a man of destiny. The impecunious son of a family of Corsica, after the French conquest went with government assistance to the school at Brienne and then to the Ecole Militaire, whence he emerged as sub-lieutenant of artillery. He had tremendous energy and a powerful disciplined memory. Short but thin and muscular he had good looks. He could work continuously for long period, with only snatches of sleep. He had a thirst for glory, fed partly on the writings of the pre-romantics but more on the history of the great conquerors of the ancient world, Caesar and Alexander

for this was also the period of classical revival. Although influenced by the Enlightenment especially Rousseau, he showed a natural preference for the more conservative and less enlightened ideas of the ancien regime. Politically his bent was towards despotism untrammelled by divine right. His experience of the Revolution had left him with a deep contempt, mixed with fear, for the people. He had an egoism which had quite mastered him. Bloodshed mattered a scrap to him and he never thought of economizing in the lives of his soldiers. For fifteen years France and Europe were to be at the mercy of a gambler to whom fate and his own genius gave for a time all the aces.

The short intermission from continual war that the Treaty of Amiens inaugurated gave Bonaparte the opportunity to establish the bases of a new government. As soon as he became first Consul he began the task of reconstruction. The semblance of representative institutions was preserved as a sop to revolutionary tradition, with an advisory Senate, a Legislative Body which could vote but not speak, and a Tribunate which could speak but not vote. The Tribunate was reduced in membership to fifty divided into sections, and finally in 1807, abolished. The Legislative Body chosen by the Senate and composed of obscure former revolutionaries, was then engagged but remained a passive register of the Emperor's will. The Senate was only a mere collection of nominees, serving only to give dignity to their master's decisions.

If we turn from the legislative to the executive, even the facade of limitation on the will of the Emperor disappears. The keeper of the seals became the Minister for Justice. Then there were the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of the Interior. He also had a Minister of Police, like all dictators. A State Secretariat controlled and co-ordinated the policies of his Ministers. The Ministers never constituted a Cabinet. The Emperor consulted them individually took their advice or gave them orders as it pleased him, like an ancien regime monarch.

At the centre of the new administrative structure was the Council of State, Napoleon was no mere vulgar dictator imposing

unconsidered decisions on a servile nation. He was at least when he first came to power, conscious of his limitations and of his need for a body of specialists who, without possessing political power, could provide him with the advice he needed in all fields of government. The Council of State was intended, in the first place, as the means of his own political education. It was also to draw up laws and administrative regulations and expound them to the legislative bodies. The section into which the Council was divided supervised the various fields of government and provided him with a means of checking and controlling the action of his Ministers.

The Council of State played a major role in the Central Government, it exercised unlimited supervision over Local Administration and all Public Establishments and gradually filled in the details of the administrative and financial system sketched out under the Consulate.

Napoleon had given to France, after the stresses of the Revolution, a steel corset on which she was to become independent and from which she was to emancipate herself only slowly and painfully and never completely.

The function of the Local Councils were reduced to microscopic proportions. They were not allowed to meet for a longer period than fifteen days in the year, their chief function was to give their approval to the distribution of taxation between the various arrondissements, towns, and villages of the department. All administrative authority in the department was placed in the hands of a prefect, appointed from Paris, with sub-prefects under him. The latter had no independent authority. That the prefects were the officers of a Central Government and subject to the same kind of obedience that was expected of officers of the army was made quite clear by putting them into uniform.

The first task of the prefects was that of economic restoration. The prefects did valuable work in restoring administrative good habits to the departments. They had to collect favourable

votes for the plebiscites, the success with which they performed this duty foretold their future political role. Gradually they also came to supervise the requirements of the army. They drew up lists of conscripts, authorized exemptions, sought out deserters, confiscated horses for the army, looked after troops in passage, and guarded prisoners of war.

Besides creating a unified administrative machinery, Napoleon laid down the legislative basis on which it was to operate. In 1800 Bonaparte appointed a committee of distinguished lawyers to draw up a civil code. After their draft code had been discussed in the Council of State, it was submitted to the Legislative bodies, where criticism was so hostile that it did not obtain final acceptance until 1804. His role was not to frame the code but to see that the lawyers came to a conclusion, good or bad, without further delay. For some of the worst features he was personally responsible. Such were the deterioration in the legal status of women, who were allowed no control over the family property and could not acquire, sell or give property without their husband's consent; the reintroduction of confiscation as a legal penalty; the use of the fiction of civil death. The first Consul's influence was also responsible for the tightening up of the laws of marriage or divorce and the restoration of paternal authority in the family. The great gains of the Revolution, however, were maintained, equality before the law, the principle of religious toleration, the abolition of privileges and seigneurial burden. Property rights were strictly maintained and there was particular emphasis in the interests of the small owner. Property was to be inherited equally by all legitimate children at death. The Civil Code was the most effective agency for the propagation of the basic principles of the French Revolution. It was carried by the French armies through Europe and thence spread across the world. There followed in France a Code of Civil Procedure, a cumbersome commercial code and a severe and arbitrary criminal code all on the same model of enlightenment.

In 1800 was founded another of the great and permanent creations of the consulate, the Bank of France. The Bank, like

the other Napoleonic institutions, was to remain a power in France throughout the regimes which followed.

In 1802 the French budget was balanced, but this was only a temporary success. Napoleon had to fall back, like the ancien regime or expedients and live from hand to mouth. And like the Revolution he exploited the conquered countries to such an extent that it might almost be said that war was a financial necessity for France.

Religion was another loose end left untied by the Revolution, but a religious revival had been promoted in those Revolutionary years. In the year VIII education was secularized. Teachers in Central Schools were asked to avoid anything that pertained to doctrines and rites of all religious. Catholic Church, however got a renewed support from the State. Napoleon considered religion as a means to an end for his own power. He felt that the people must have a religion and that religion must be in the hands of the government. The Vatican for its part, despite its denunciation, of the Revolution, was prepared to make considerable concessions to regain official recognition in France. The victory over Austria and the peace of Luneville in February 1801 made it desirable to come to terms with a France which now controlled all northern Italy. Secretly instituted negotiations were concluded in July 1801. To minimize the resistance of the anti-clerical elements in the legislative bodies, Bonaparte waited until the Peace of Amiens had been concluded before he announced the concordat in April 1802. By the concordat the Vatican agreed to the institution of a new episcopate which should contain a proportion of Bishops from the constitutional church, recognized the alienation of church lands as permanent and accepted the payment of clerical salaries by the State. Catholic religious practice was to be free and public, so long as it confirmed to such police regulations as required by public order. These measures were achieved by the issue of Organic Articles. By the supplementary Organic Articles no Papal Bull was to be published nor any Papal representative to function in France, without the permission of the Government.

The Bishops were placed under the close control of the prefects and the lesser clergy lost considerable independence of episcopal authority. Sunday as the day of rest and the Gregarian calendar were restored. Children were to be given only saint's names or those of great figures of antiquity ; the payment of salaries was extended to all clergy. Official sanction was given for religious order for women and male missionaries. Jesuits were also tolerated. Control of primary education was restored to the clergy, though not higher education.

The Pope consented to all these Organic articles after considerable delay, as the Vatican was not quite happy about the bargain it had concluded. The concordat was a master stroke policy of Bonaparte, henceforth he used the clergy as an instrument of government. Yet with all this he failed to obtain any permanent religious sanction for his rule. In the last year of the Empire the barely concealed royalist sentiments of most of the clergy undermined the loyalty of the people and prepared the way for his fall. The intermittent struggle between Church and State which be devilled French politics for the following century and a half was much the inheritance of the Napoleonic concordat as of revolutionary anti-clericalism.

Napoleon, while restoring official recognition to the Roman Catholic Church had no intention of returning their control of education. Bonaparte established lycees, boarding schools with a semi-military uniform and discipline and military training from the age of twelve. Specialized Schools of law, medicine, and pharmacy, the Ecole Militare Speciale and the famous Ecole Normale were founded in 1808, to prepare for service in schools and universities. 300 young men were chosen by competitive examination. These were to provide the technical experts needed by the Empire. On a lower level, secondary schools, established by municipalities or individuals, gave the education needed for commercial or minor administrative posts. At the bottom, primary schools were left to the initiative of the communes and the teaching orders. The education system was placed, by a Law of 1808, under the control

of a single Imperial University. Then whole structure formed a rigid hierarchy, under a grand master nominated by and responsible to the Emperor.

The press became a mere instrument of Imperial propaganda, and papers which were not sufficiently docile soon disappeared. A censorship controlled the publication of books. Theatres were put under the Ministry of Police.

Napoleon's peculiar and lasting achievement was the work of the Consulate - that administrative reorganisation, which, in perspective, can be seen as bequeathing not only to France but to much of the rest of the world, the most powerful instrument of bureacratic control that the Western World had known since the Roman Empire.

1. The Napoleonic Empire

The Consulate was more important in the history of France, than the Empire. What remains is a ten years wonder, the history of conquests, of armies marching and counter marching from Lisbon to Moscow. The Napoleonic State - in war it had begun, in war it remained and by war it was to end.

The Treaty of Amiens was a mere armstice. With France's position in Europe consolidated, he looked to the restoration of her overseas Empire. Louisiana and the Spanish port of St. Domingo had been gained from Spain ; and the Colonies which had been conquered by Great Britain were to be restored to France.

Military movements on the continent were a source of alarm to Great Britain. French control over the Satellites was strengthened. In Italy, Piedmont's army was amalgamated with the French-army. Liguirians and Cisalpine Republics were brought under control. By an Act of Mediation the Swiss Cantons were re-organized and French control was established over the Alpine passes.

The New **casus belli** was to arise in the Mediterranean, where Great Britain had violated the Treaty of Amiens by not

restoring Malta to the Knights of St. John. Britain was encouraged by Russia, who was alarmed at Bonaparte's interest in the Near East. A British ultimatum on 23 April insisted on the continued occupation of Malta for ten years. This was in effect a repudiation of the terms of Amiens. Failing in negotiation, the war was renewed in May 1803, after 14 months of uneasy peace. The problem now was how could a land and a sea power measure their strength against one another. By the summer of 1804 Bonaparte had gathered six to seven hundred invasion barges and a grand army of over 10,000 men gathered on the coast of Boulogne. The Battle at Trafalgar brought about the destruction of the French and Spanish fleets and guaranteed British control of the seas for the rest of the war. Russia and Austria alarmed at the growth of French power in Italy and Germany, joined Great Britain to form the Third Coalition in July 1805. The Austrians were routed at Ulm, the French were barred at Austerlitz by a combined Russian and Austrian force, but soon overwhelmed. Austria thus twice defeated concluded a humiliating peace of Pressburg. Prussia which joined the war late, against France, was humiliated at Jena in 1806. Russia which alone remained was defeated in the bloodiest and most hard-fought battles, at Eylav and Friedland in 1807. Czar Alexander and Napoleon met at Filsit in June 1807. Prussia was reduced to a mere torso. Russia had to make major concessions in the Near East, abandoning the Ionian Islands to Napoleon. evacuating the Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, accepting the continental system, and if Great Britain did not agree to Russian mediation, concluding an alliance with France. Napoleon was master of Europe west of the Russian border.

The Kingdom of Holland was placed under his brother Louis, the confederation of the Rhine and the Kingdom of West Phalia was placed under Napoleon's younger brother Jerome. The Kingdom of Italy had the privilege of having Napoleon himself as King ; his step son Eugene Beauharnais, being viceroy. The kingdom of Naples (excepting the two Sicilies which were under

the British) was given to Joseph Bonaparte, who was later transferred to Spain. Naples then was given to Murat, husband of Carole Bonaparte. Napoleon had done well by his clan. All these conquests were indeed the result of the Military genius of Bonaparte.

After Tilsit it might have been thought that Napoleon would rest on his laurels, content with his unchallenged supremacy. But this was against his nature. England remained unconquered. The continental system was the device that Napoleon conceived for bringing Great Britain to her knees. It was generally believed that British power rested on her naval strength and her subsidies, and that both these on the profits she derived from trade. To destroy that trade by cutting off its markets would ruin her finances and rob her of her power as effectively as if every port on the British Isles were sealed; thus could the sea power be blockaded from the land. This was Napoleon's plan.

This however was only one side of the continental system. There was also the thought that what England lost France could gain, taking the place of her rival as the great industrial nation of Europe. Napoleon had injected a stimulus into French industry after the Treaty of Amiens. His conquests gave him ample opportunity to exclude British trade from the Continent. The Continental system was intensified by the Berlin Decrees of 1806 and the Milan Decrees of December 1807 which stated that any ship which had called at a British port, paid a duty to Britain or ever been examined at sea by the British, was made a lawful prize. The result was in effect to exclude neutral shipping, on which Europe now depended for its supplies from overseas, from ports under French control. The British reply to the Continental System, the Orders in Council, blockading all French ports, were imposed more effectively by a fleet which swept the seas, and by raiding privatees. The Continental System was a device as mentioned earlier not only for defeating England, but also for ensuing French economic supremacy. But these efforts failed. The loss of

colonial raw materials was incompatible with their success, though desperate efforts were made to improvise substitutes. Smuggling became one of the most remunerative and by no means the least numerous of professions. Against universal smuggling the Napoleonic machine of repression that had been created was powerless. When confiscated goods were ordered to be burnt, valueless rubbish was destroyed in their place. It was only after the economic crisis of the later years of the Empire that Napoleon had recourse to the organized breach of the continental system by the method of licences. Since Great Britain was doing the same an interchange of goods developed between the two countries at war. French ships were allowed to trade with England under neutral flag; once outside Napoleon's clutches they generally stayed outside to swell the merchant marine in British service.

The Emperor who had started as an heir of the Revolution, was turning in his social policy into something more like the restorer of a pseudo ancien regime. The creation of the Legion of Honour in 1802 was an early sign of his anti-egalitarian tendencies. Once he was Emperor he needed a Court. For the ceremonies of the new Court a series of Grand Officers of the Crown, drawn from the ancien regime, provided the correct tone. A whole gamut of titles, from Duke to Chevalier, was recreated and made hereditary on the granting of an appropriate entail.

In 1807, after Tilsit, there was a reorganization of the Ministries, in which Talleyrand lost the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He had never believed in the wisdom of the humilitation of Austria. Intolerance of criticism was only one sign of the degeneration that was beginning to come over the Emperor, both physically and mentally. His decline may be said to have begun even before the Empire had reached its height. His aggressions were increasingly irrational. The French intervention in Spain was to have more momentous consequences. To extend French control over the whole peninsula, a joint Franco-Spanish army invaded Portugal in 1807. Napoleon, however, was not satisfied with the aid he was getting from

Spain. In May 1808 the King and Queen and the heir Ferdinand were summoned to Bayonne and by threats made to sign away their rights over Spain. Joseph Bonaparte, brought from the throne of Naples was put on that of Madrid. Even before Joseph entered his new capital, a spontaneous insurrection all over spain had imperilled some 150,000 French troops dispersed over the whole peninsula. An army under Napoleon at Ebro routed the Spaniards back. Joseph was reinstated in Madrid. The French reverses in Spain led to a resurgence in Austria, but soon put down. Napoleon's position now became insecure with plots to oust him being hatched at home with resistances abroad. His family life was also unhappy as he had no heir to the throne through his queen Josephine. For some time schemes for a divorce and re-marriage were mooted. Josephine was at last got rid of not by a divorce but by a declaration of the nullity of the Marriage. Napoleon solemnised his second marriage with Marie Lousie. A little boy was born in 1811 but never to inherit an Empire in which the cracks were already visible.

Now Russia remained to be defeated, the only continental power that was not subordinate to France. The nominal ties of Tilsit could not prevent the growth of mutual suspicion and conflict of interests. Alexander and Napoleon suspected each other. They had concrete grievances. Napoleon strengthened his position in the Baltic. He began to move his troops eastwards. Meanwhile Russia, like the rest of Europe, was suffering from the economic crisis. To cope with the consequent discontent Alexander imposed heavy duties on French imports and opened his ports to neutral shipping. In effect he was withdrawing Russia from the continental system. The decisive event was the conclusion of peace between the Russians and the Turks. Alexander had also concluded an agreement with Bernadotte of Sweden and also received secret promises of support from Austria. Napoleon was not unaware of all this. War it had to be. On June 24, 1813, the Grand Army of Napoleon numbering 675,000 men and, 1350 cannon began to cross Niemen. Russia

was to be overwhelmed by sheer weight of numbers. All the nations of Europe had sent their conscripts. As the Russian armies avoided battle and withdrew, Napoleon moved forward his armies struggling through the heat of summer. At last in Moscow, Napoleon could fight the battle for which he had been longing. At Borodine some 30,000 of his troops were killed and though the Russians lost more they retreated in order. The occupation of an empty Moscow, the burning of the city, the retreat after 5 weeks waiting for peace emissaries who never came, with an army already reduced to 100,000 with officers and men, baggage-train, horses, carriages loaded down with the spoils of Russia's conquered and looted capital, across a region that had already been desolated in the rain and mud of autumn, turning to the snows of winter -all this is a many times told tale of greed and cruelty, heroism and despair. After the tragic crossing of the Beresina on 27th November, famine and frost and the pursuing Russians completed the annihilation of the army of the Empire.

Napoleon had already on 6th December, deserted an army that no longer existed and was hastening back to Paris. In this extraordinary episode, a republican general Malet, and a royalist priest, Lafon, came near to overthrowing the Empire by the simple device of forging a document announcing the death of Napoleon and the constitution of a provisional government under the banished general Moreau. In his name Malet assumed command of Paris and arrested the Minister of Police, the war Minister and the Prefect of Police-all in the space of a single morning. Only when the commander of the Paris garrison challenged for the news, and the little band of conspirators failed to keep up the pretence of Napoleon's death successfully, were they resisted. Then of course they were easily seized and executed. This was clear evidence that the whole government of Napoleon rested on the cohesion of the military and administrative Machine he had created and that in his turn depended exclusively on his person.

Back in Paris, Napoleon set the administration to the task of rising conscripts from France, for the first time really ruthlessly. Europe was now everywhere against his domination, but there were still Napoleonic armies and garrisons far and wide. Indecisive battles against Russia and Prussia, were followed by an armstice. Austria also raised arms and Napoleon raised some half a million men in the field, but the Austrian and allies had more. This army of Napoleon at Leipzig soon followed the army of 1812 into the void. Only a fragment remained.

More conscripts were called up from France, this time there were no foreign allies or dependents left to exploit. By now the armies of the coalition under Wellington had crossed the Pyrenees. In Jan. 1814 Murat deserted Napoleon. Italy was lost. In France tself the regime had entered the winter of its discontent. Under the frozen surtace of dictatorship resentment brooded. The underground royalists were getting active. When the allies invaded France, the nation accepted the foreign invaders as it had borne the rule of Napoleon. If he had been willing to buy peace by renouncing the Empire he might still have got it and remained the ruler of France. Negotiations between the Allies and Napoleon in February & March 1814 proved futile. With a small army of 60,000 men largely untrained Napoleon manoeuvred the invading armies. But the allies realizing the scarcity of Napoleon's troops by-passed his forces and advanced on Paris, entered the city through the porte Saint-Davis. A provisional government under Talleyrand was set up. The Senate and Legistative Body voted the deposition of Napoleon. The Paris press, now under royalist control, agitated for a restoration, the allies also supported the restoration of the Bourbons. Napoleon himself ultimately abdicated unconditionally on 6 th April. Four days later, slow did the news travel, that the last battle of the allied invasion was to be fought a bloody assault under Wellington.

On 12th April the Counte D'Artois, as lieutenant-general for his brother Louis XVIII, entered Paris in triumph. Louis XVIII

himself landed at Boulogne on 24th April. He met a delegation from the senate and issued a royal proclamation. Louis promised France a representative government, a senate and chamber of Deputies, on only with consent, public and individual liberty, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, responsible government, judicial independence, a career open to talent, that no one should be punished for opinions or votes during the fallen regime, recognition of titles, pensions, grades and military honours of titles of both old and new nobility. It was a compromise between Divine Right and the Revolution.

Napoleon, largely by the mediation of Alexander, was meanwhile journeying to a smaller kingdom in Elba. He left France which, it had been estimated, had lost in his wars 860,000 men between the ages of 23 and 44.

The Restoration did not begin well. Talleyrand confined himself to foreign affairs. The old system of government with no Chief Minister, no unity and no policy was revised. Napoleon at Elba was not uninformed of the dissatisfaction in France and at the end of the month was sufficiently dissatisfied with himself with ruling a tiny island in place of half of Europe, to be ready to set out on his last and reckless venture. On March 1, 1815 he landed with 1,050 troops once again at Fregus and marched to Paris. Louis XVIII on hearing about Nepoleon, at midnight on 19 March accompanied by a few horsemen, crossed the frontier to Ghent.

Napoleon was once again master of France. He announced that he had given up the Grand Empire. But the other Great Powers declared Napoleon outside the pale of civilized society and had 7,830,000 men under arms to back up their ban. To give the new regime a more liberal outlook Napoleon issued a proposal for a constitution similar to Louis XVIII's. All this was possible due to political inertia of the nation. The royalists were weak to offer resistance.

Napoleon now marched off to Belgium leaving treachery behind him in the name of Fouche, Minister of Police, who was working secretly with liberals and royalists and Matternich and Talleyrand at Vienna.

In Belgium the only forces to oppose Napoleon were 120,000 Prussians under Blucher, and mixed European force under Wellington. The Russians were driven back at Ligny and Wellington retreated to Waterloo. There on 18th June Napoleon flung his massed columns at them in desperation. A Russian army coming up on Napoleon's flank was imminent. A retreat could have saved the French army, but Napoleon knew that if he did not win this battle his chance was gone for ever. The army was routed and ultimately vanished.

Back in Paris Napoleon still talked of fighting, but none were prepared to follow his frantic egoism. Then he signed his second abdication. If he had not done it the Chamber would have done it for him. Following the reverse Napoleon sought refuge on board a British warship. Taking no chances this time. the allies exiled the ex-emperor to the island of St. Helena, about 1200 miles to the W. Coast of Africa. Here he died in 1821.

It is true that Napoleon's wars killed between 3 and 6 million people. But his interference throughout Europe spread French revolutionary ideals and kindled nationalism. But in France Napoleon expanded and safeguarded many of the social and economic gains of the Revolution such as legal equality and the land settlement which had benefited the peasants. Outside France his rule swept away many of the obsolete institutions of the old regime. Because of Napoleon the first step towards the national unification of Germany was achieved. Napoleon wiped out more than one hundred petty German states and merged them with large states. Another important obstacle to unification was removed in 1806 when Napoleon did away with Holy Roman Empire. His boast that he was the son of the Revolution was in part justified. Perhaps no better evaluation of Napoleon has ever

been given than De Tocquevilli's " He was as great as a man can be without virtue ".

More specifically the downfall of Napoleon was due to the fact that the vast empire relied on his military and administrative genius. When the physical vigours, and the mental brilliance of the creator began to flag as a result of the ravages of disease (Napoleon died of cancer six years after Waterloo), the empire began to fall apart. In addition, the sequence of Nationalism in Europe was bound to destroy any dictator who first stimulated it by praying about liberty, equality and fraternity and then ended by putting the people he liberated in chains. Students of warfare point out that the defeat was due to the lack of an efficient naval power. Finally there are those who see Napoleon's greatest blunder in the Russian advance which boomeranged with the retreat from Moscow.

Chapter VIII

Wars of Liberation in Latin America

Introduction

South America, Central America, Mexico and the West Indies are called **Latin America,** because they were colonised by the Spanish, Portuguese and French who belonged to the Latin race. Spain and Portugal controlled the greater part of Latin America. In 1500 Portugal conquered Brazil and in 1520 Mexico was conquered for Spain by the Spanish Commander, **Cortez.** Another Spanish General, **Pizarro** annexed Peru to the Spanish Empire in 1530. Britain had an Empire in North America consisting of the 13 American Colonies and Canada, and the Iberian States of Spain and Portugal had the whole of Latin America under their control. In the 18th Century, as we saw in an earlier chapter, the 13 American Colonies became independent of Britain as a result of the American War of Independence. In this Chapter we shall study how the Latin American States became free as a result of Liberation Movements in the 19th century.

(a) Causes for the Liberation Movement in Latin America

The Liberation Movement in Latin America in the 19th Century was a little different from the Revolt of the American Colonies in the 18th Century. While the 13 American Colonies threw away the yoke of Britain at a time when she was in the height of her glory, after victory in the Seven Years' War, the first blows for the independence of Latin America were struck when Spain and Portugal had been crushed by the Great Napoleon. The English Colonists rose against the unjust and unconstitutional taxation of an autocratic King, George III. The Latin American Colonists on the other hand revolted because Ferdinand VI, who stood for royal absolutism, had been set aside for the democratice fashion of a French intruder, **Joseph Bonaparte.** Thirdly while the English Colonists had been nourished in traditions of liberty, there was no such tradition among the Latin American rebels.

A number of causes led to the revolt of the Latin American Colonies in the 19th Century. In the first place, Mexico, Peru and Brazil were rich in silver and gold. The Portuguese and Spanish Viceroys adopted the old Colonial Policy subordinating the interests of the Colonies to those of the Mother Countries. There was therefore discontent in the Latin Colonies.

Secondly, the population in the Colonies consisted of several classes. At the top was a small class of pure Spaniards or Portuguese sent from the Iberian Peninsula. Below them were the **Creoles**, the Colonial born Spaniards or Portugese. The pure Spaniards or Portuguese and the Creoles of Latin America formed the ruling class. Below them were the Indians, the **Mestizos** (half-European, half-Indian) and the Negroes.

Latin America was regarded not as an area to be peopled by free immigration from the Mother Countries, but as Royal Domains where settlement was a privilege accorded by the Spanish or Portuguese Crown. A population, part Spanish or Portuguese, part Creole, part Indian and part Negro was held together under a common Government. Until the outbreak of the Liberation War in the 19th Century, there was perfect peace, **Pax Hispanica,** in the Spanish and Portuguese Empire in the New World. The people were trained in loyalty to the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns by the strenuous propaganda of the Jesuit Priests. The Jesuits who had taken a leading part in making the Latin Americans loyal to Spain and Portugal through their educational institutions were expelled from South America in 1768. This loss was not repaired. The abolition of the Jesuit Order sapped the loyalty of Latin America to Iberia.

Thirdly, the American War of Independence and the French Revolution helped the growth of the Freedom Movement in Latin America. French Revolutionary Writers who emphasised on Liberty, Equality and Fraternity had a great influence on the intellectual classes of South America. They now realised that Spain and Portugal had been adopting a step motherly attitude towards their

Fig : 8.1 American War of Independence

colonies and that they had been exploited for centuries. The longing for freedom arose when the 13 American Colonies became independent of Britain and when the French Revolution of 1789 released the ideas of Liberty and Equality.

Fourthly, the decline of Spain was an important cause for the commencement of the Liberation Movement in South America. Ever since the end of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713, Spain had become a second class power in Europe. In the 16th Century Philip II of Spain who was the ruler of Spain and Portugal and whose Empire included territories in Europe and Colonies in America, bestrode the world like a Colossus. When the Reformation threatened to weaken the foundations of the Roman Catholic Church, it was Spain who as the leader of the Counter Reformation Movement checked the tide of the Reformation. But in the 17th Century Spain lost her imperial magnificence. Under her Bourbon monarchs she became a satellite of France and wasted her resources in the colonial rivalry between England and France. England had not forgotten the part played by France and Spain in the American War of Independence where they had joined the American Colonies against her and had contributed to the success of the American Colonists. Britain took revenge upon Spain by destroying the Franco Spanish fleet at Trafalgar in 1805. Taking advantage of the weakness of Spain, the Latin American Colonists rose against the Mother Country in the 19th century.

Finally, Napoleon dethroned the legitimate Spanish King and placed on the throne of Spain, his brother, **Joseph Bonaparte.** He also expelled the Portuguese Royal family from Lisbon. Taking advantage of these events, revolutions broke out in the Latin Colonies. **Francisco de Miranda, San Martin** and **Simon Bolivar** were the three revolutionaries who organised the Liberation Movement in Latin America.

(b) Courses of the Revolution

Francisco de Miranda (1750-1816) was a native of Venezuela. He took an active part in the American and French Revolutions.

He organised a revolt of the people of Venezuela in 1810 and proclaimed her independence. Unfortunately there was a division among the rebels and Miranda was betrayed. The Spanish Government imprisoned him at Cadiz where he died in 1816.

After the fall of Miranda, the work of liberation was taken up by **San Martin** in the South and **Simon Bolivar** in the North. San Martin (1778-1850) was a native of Argentina. He had served in the Spanish army but soon gave it up to organise a revolution in Argentina and Chile. He raised an army known as the '**Army of the Andes**' and defeated a Spanish army at **Granada** and **Maipo** near Santiago. Chile was declared an independent state. Then he expelled the Spaniards from Peru which also proclaimed her independence. It was in Peru that he met Simon Bolivar. Martin was an ardent supporter of monarchy, while Simon Bolivar favoured a Republic. To preserve unity among the rebels, Martin retired from politics. He died in France in 1850.

On the retirement of Martin, Simon Bolivar (1783-1830) became the Chief Liberator in South America. He was a native of Venezuela but educated in Spain and was influenced by the revolutionary ideas of France. He headed the revolutionaries in the northern part of South America. He met with some defeats in the early stage of the struggle. Later on he crushed a Spanish army at **Boyaca** in New Granada. Bolivar was proclaimed as President in both New Granada and Venezuela. He also liberated Eucador, Peru and Bolivia (named after him). Simon Bolivar was called the 'Washington of South America'. He was pained in his last years to find that his followers quarrelled very frequently on trival issues. This made him remark, 'I fear peace more than war'.

In 1821 Mexico became independent under the leadership of the Revolutionary leader, **Iturbide.** This was followed by the liberation of Brazil by the Revolutionary **Cochrane.** Thus all the Central and South American Colonies of Spain and Portugal became independent.

The Concert of Europe consisting of Russia, Prussia and Austria was planning to help Spain and Portugal to recover the Latin Colonies. It was then (1823) that **President Munroe** of the United States of America asked the Old World Powers not to interfere in the affairs of the New World. In a famous message to the American Congress, President Munroe announced his doctrine of **'America for the Americans'.** He declared that the U. S. A. would regard any extension of the European system in the Western Hemisphere as a hostile act. Britain through her Prime Minister **George Canning** supported the Munroe Doctrine. England had her revenge for the assistance which Spain had rendered to her revolting American Colonists in the 18th century. George Canning gave recognition to the liberated Latin American Republics and he "called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the World".

It must be noted that what preserved the South American Continent through the greater part of the 19th Century from European attack was not so much the Munroe Doctrine as the efficient fleet of Britain.

(C) Results of the War of Liberation

The loss of an Empire, though it wounded the pride of the Iberian States, did not injure the prosperity of Spain and Portugal. Judged by every economic test that can be supplied, Spain and Portugal are richer and happier now than ever before. Their population has nearly doubled and their internal resources have been immeasurably increased.

On account of the loss of the South American Empire, the Spanish Kings lost an important source of income. The Kings of Spain had to seek the support of the Cortes or the Parliament for raising taxes. The King's financial needs led to the power of the Liberals who demanded a democratic constitution for Spain. But in Spain democracy or Constitutional Monarchy did not make any headway as the Church which had a powerful hold over the people supported a centralised and autocratic monarchy. However, the struggle between the king and the cortes continued.

The Liberation Movement resulted in the disappearance of peace in South America. A population-part Spanish, part Creole, part Indian and part Negro had been held together, for nearly three centuries under a common system of policy and belief. The Latin Americans like the Iberians, were an emotional people and their restless temper led to constant revolutions and coup de tats in South America. Pax Hispanica was replaced by inter-state wars and domestic revolutions which continue even today.

Chapter IX

China under the Manchus

China consists of five regions—China proper, Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet. It is a country with different climatic conditions and diversified agricultural life, yet is unified and largely self-dependent. A vast country with a large population, it flourished from time immemorial as the cradle of civilization. Empires rose and fell, yet it had a stable society and continuous history.

By 1644 the Manchus who belonged to Manchuria conquered China and continued to rule over the country upto 1912. By the early seventeenth century, they created a strong military organisation. Taking advantage of the disintegration of the Ming Dynasty, who ruled over the country and internal disorders, Nurhachi, the Manchu chieftain led his forces to the south and occupied Peking. His son Dorgon was an outstanding General, who completed the conquest of the Chinese Empire. The Manchus assumed a Chinese dynastic name " Ching " meaning " Pure ".

Among the Manchu Emperors the greatest were Kang Hsi (1662 - 1722) and Chien Lung (1736 - 1799). Kang Hsi defeated Russia and settled the northern boundary of the country. He identified himself with the Chinese culture and sought to promote it. Accordingly, he encouraged the growth of Chinese Literature. Because of his effort the Chinese dictionary was prepared. He introduced the Co-hong system by which thirteen leading merchants of the country were granted a monopoly of trade in return for periodical payments to the state. In subsequent times this system served as a source of conflict between the imperial administration and the European Merchants. Nevertheless Kang Hsi consolidated the authority of the Manchus over China. His son, Yung Cheng, created a centralised order of administration. The next ruler Chien Zung was a great conqueror. He extended his authority over North East Korea, Mongolia, Tibet and Chinese

Turkistan and collected tribute from Annam, Nepal and Burma. The Empire reached the zenith of its extent but began to disintegrate under the rule of the succeeding emperors. Invasions from the north, confrontation with the west, internal disturbances, economic stagnation and administrative inefficiency created impediments to the survival of the Manchu Empire.

Traditional Society

By 1842 China had a population of thirty six crores. it represented a blending of the various stocks of people, who came from Central Asia. China had no caste system but had the class system. The society consisted of (1) Literati, (2) farmers, (3) artisans (4) merchants and (5) soldiers and servants. The literati or the scholar gentry constituted the highest class in the social order. They were looked upon as the custodians of knowledge.

Naturally they supplied most of the public servants through examination. Though China gave the greatest importance to Learning, the educational system was not calculated to promote change. Emphasis was given to the study of ancient literature and the reproduction of old ideas as well as traditional sayings. No attempt was made at critical analysis or at innovative reform. Therefore there came stability but not progress. The agriculturists formed eighty percent of the population. Being the real producers of wealth, the society gave the second importance to the peasants unlike in India. They lived in villages instead of in their farms. Hence theft was common and method of cultivation remained backward. The artisans consisted of capitalists as well as workers. The rich among them had their own industrial undertakings and guilds, which decided quality and prices of products and fixed wages for the workers. Last in the social order there came the other classes, the merchants, the soldiers and the servants. The Chinese gave the last place to them as they were looked upon neither as intellectuals nor as producers.

The Chinese displayed a strong attachment towards family. Ancestor worship, family traditions, common home and patriarchal system kept even large families together. It was a common feature that in the same house there lived great-grandfather, grandfather, father and other people. Men had their concubines called secondary wives; yet cases of divorce were not common. Because of ancestor worship and economic consideration a son was considered a necessity. While the birth of a son was rejoiced that of a daughter was lamented.

Because of the advance in civilization and the absence of contact with the rest of the world the Chinese considered themselves as the most civilized people and the foreigners as inferior to them. Trade was considered as an inferior profession and traders were looked upon with contempt. As China was self-sufficient, she did not depend upon other countries for essential articles. When the foreigners reached China, the Chinese felt that they could not manage themselves without the Chinese products. Besides, in the past whoever invaded China, they adopted the Chinese civilization. The Europeans on the other hand refused to adopt the Chinese civilization. Hence they were not favoured.

The Manchu Administration

Under the Manchu the Chinese Empire included Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang and Formosa. Tibet was a protectorate while Korea, Burma, Nepal and parts of Indo-China were tributary dependencies. The administration was remarkably efficient and the empire enjoyed the benefits of unity, peace and order for long.

The Manchu emperors sought to identify themselves with the culture and institutions of the Chinese and to rule in accordance with the accepted traditions. Thus they preserved the division of the country into provinces, maintained the ancient administrative frame work, continued the civil service examinations and supported the moral code that was based upon Confucianism.

At the same time the Manchus sought to consolidate their authority over the Chinese. They stationed garrisons at centres of

strategic importance, gave preference to the people of their own race in appointments, prevented them to mix with the Chinese and kept Manchuria as a sanctuary for themselves. The Chinese were required to wear the queue after the Manchu fashion and to adopt the Manchu style of dress as a mark of submission. They were prevented to settle down in Manchuria. Despite these precautions, they failed to stabilise their authority for long. The population was increasing fast but no attempt was made to increase the material prosperity. There came no industrialization or migration on a larger scale to other areas of the world. The independent attitude of provincial viceroys, the conflict between the north and the south, recurrent droughts, famines and epidemics and frequent rebellions presented serious problems as the eighteenth century dawned.

Advent of the West

The Europeans went to China for the spread of Christianity and for trade. Among them the Jesuits were the first to reach the empire and were followed by the Franciscans, Dominicans and the Protestants. In 1516 the Portuguese reached China and established trading ports. Since then the Dutch, the English, the Russians, the Americans and other western powers reached China.

The missionaries and merchants encountered serious difficulties in the country. As Christianity gained converts, the Emperor feared that as the people were asked to worship a remote being, the Lord of Heaven. his position would be affected. In Chinese tradition there was no concept of God and the emperor was looked upon as the head of the empire. In 1724 an imperial edict prohibited the propagation of the religion of the Lord of Heaven. China developed suspicions about the merchants too. This was because the European powers committed aggressions in other regions of Asia, illtreated the Chinese and entered into conflict with each other. For fear that the European presence would affect the peace of the Empire, the trade with the foreign power was restricted since 1757 to the city of Canton.

The measures taken by the Manchus to keep the foreigners away and the attempts made by the Europeans to open China for trade brought the two sides into clash with each other. The European powers entertained a grievance that they were treated as foreign devils, that they were denied of a status of equality with China and that they were not allowed to trade freely. The Chinese on the other hand felt that the Europeans illtreated them, destroyed the peace in the Empire by their mutual conflicts and smuggled in opium. The English, who commanded the largest volume of trade with China, decided to settle the issue through war.

In 1840 there broke out the first Anglo-Chinese war otherwise called the Opium War (1840—1842). The British fleet blockaded the Chinese ports and threatened the imperial capital. Because of the absence of any strong navy and failure to mobilse the vast resources of the Empire, the Chinese forces suffered reverses. By the Treaty of Nanking signed in 1842, China ceded the island of Hong Kong to Great Britain, opened five ports for European trade and paid war indemnity. This was followed by the settlement of more treaties, by which China granted privileges to other western powers too. However, there came no lasting peace. Friction continued because of increased trade in opium and arrogance of the Europeans. In 1856 war again broke out and it continued up to 1860. This was the Second Anglo Chinese War, also called the Second Opium War. The British forces, joined by the French, bombarded Canton, occupied Tientsin and Taku and marched on Peking. In 1860 peace was concluded. By the Convention of Peking China ceded Kowloon to the British, paid war indemnity, legalised the importation of opium and opened more of her ports for foreign trade.

T'aiping Rebellion and Boxer Outbreak

During the Second Anglo-Chinese war China was beset with a great upheaval called the T'aiping Rebellion. It broke out in 1850 and was suppressed in 1864. Different factors combined together in creating an atmosphere of hatred against the Manchu administration, leading to the outbreak of this rebellion. The humiliation

suffered at the hands of European powers, the privileged status enjoyed by the Manchus and failure to afford relief to the suffering masses and increasing corruption in the administration rendered the Manchu dynasty highly unpopular.

The leader of this anti-Manchu movement was Hung Hsiu-chuan, a convert to christianity. Claiming himself the brother of Jesus Christ, he considered it his mission to destroy the Manchus. Supported by the Chinese Christians and the secret societies, he organised a formidable rebellion. The T'aipings occupied the Kwangsi province, moved to the Yangtze valley, advanced to Hunan and occupied Nanking. With Nanking as the capital, the rebels established the Kingdom of T'aiping or Great Peace. Their principle was that all were to enjoy together the great fortune, bestowed upon them by the heavenly father. All were to have land to till, rice to eat, cloth to wear and money to spend. They lost no opportunity to condemn the Manchus and to worship the Lord of Heaven.

Despite the high expectations raised by the victories of the rebels, they failed to consolidate their work. The movement degenerated before long because of internal conflicts, constant wars and oppressive taxation. The rebels found it impossible to enforce order in their territory and to gain complete victory over the Manchus. As a result of continued war the imperial army defeated the T'aipings and reoccupied Nanking. In 1864 the T'aiping Kingdom collapsed.

Though the Manchus could suppress the rebellion, it greatly weakened their authority. In 1894 Japan declared war on China, defeated the Chinese forces in Korea and Manchuria. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) China paid war indemnity and ceded the island of Taiwan to the victorious Asiatic rival. Since then Korea passed under the control of Japan and the western powers entered into a keen competition for the establishment of their spheres of influence in the different regions of the Empire. Unable to ward off the worsening situation, Empress Dowager of the Manchu dynasty decided to divert the public wrath against the foreign powers. This led to the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion.

Members of a secret society, they were called Boxers because of the gymnastic practices they had. Raising a slogan to support the Manchus and destroy the foreigners, the Boxers attacked the European settlements and the Chinese Christians in 1899. The imperial forces joined the Boxers and indulged in murder and destruction. Now the foreign power assembled an international army and sent an expedition from Tientsin to Peking. Empress Dowager fled the capital and the foreign forces instituted a reign of terror. In 1901 a settlement called the Boxer Protocol was signed. China agreed to pay to the powers compensation for the losses, to demolish the forts near Peking, to punish the leaders of the rebellion and to set aside an area in the imperial capital for the location of foreign legations. After the Japanese War and Boxer Rebellion it appeared that China would be partitioned by the victorious powers and the trade would be restricted. However, this did not happen as the United States, supported by Great Britain, formulated the Open Door Policy in 1899 and 1900 in favour of equal commercial opportunity for all the powers and preservation of the territorial and administrative integrity of the Chinese Empire. Though the other powers did not accept this principle, they did not oppose it.

Reform and Revolution

Confronted with a humiliating situation, possibility of the collapse of the Empire and deteriorating economy, the Chinese sought to strengthen their country through reform. In general they advanced three theories. The conservatives, particularly wojen asserted that there was nothing for China to learn from the West, but what was necessary was to strengthen the tradition. Moderates like Feary felt that while China was superior in philosophy the West was superior in technology and hence both were to learn from each other. The Chinese learning was needed for the fundamental structure of society and western learning for technical purposes. The radicals demanded the rejection of Chinese tradition and adoption of western civilization. To 'render this view acceptable to China, Cheng declared that the west obtained much of their science and technology from China in the past and hence

by learning them, the Chinese were learning their own ideas. K'ang Yu-wei wanted the Emperor to take the initiative to reform the country as the monarchs of Russia and Japan did. He also declared that the age of despotism had passed and what was needed was the establishment of a republic.

Because of the efforts of the reformers, particularly K'ang Yu-wei, Emperor Kuang-hsu issued a decree in 1898 to reform the administration. He carried out changes in the administrative system, introduced the budget and gave importance to the study of science and technology. But this reform movement lasted only for hundred days, for those who lost jobs in the process of changes, won the support of Dowager, mother of the Emperor, and forced him to abdicate. Empress Dowager now assumed the direct control of the administration and discarded the reforms. She proceeded to promote the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion and after its failure sought to modernise the country, but it was too late; for the people lost their confidence in the ability of the Manchus to reform the country.

The revolutionary movement began to gain strength with the rise of secret societies. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a revolutionary, founded the T'ung Men Hui (Chinese Covenant Society) with the aim of overthrowing the Manchus from power and establishing a republic. This programme received support of the masses, for the people were suffering because of the fall in income and opportunity and inability of the Manchus to arrest deterioration. The payment of war indemnity, reorganisation of the army and construction of railways demanded large expenditure. To cope with this situation the Manchus resorted to oppressive taxation. In this atmosphere the secret societies revived their activity and extended their support to the revolutionary movement.

The revolution broke out in 1911 in Wuchang. Supported by the troops, the rebels occupied the Yangtze valley. By the end of 1912 most of the provinces declared their independence. Sun Yat-sen returned from abroad in the midst of the outbreaks and assumed the leadership of the movement in the South. The Manchus who retained control of the north appointed Yuan Shih-Kai as

Prime Minister in their bid to re assert their authority. Now it appeared that a civil war between the north and the south would break out. Therefore Sun Yat-sen wisely made a compromise with Yuan-Shih Kai, agreeing to make him president of China. In 1912 the young emperor Hsuan T'ung abdicated and China became a republic.

Chapter X

Nationalism in Europe

In the 19th Century Governments effectively moved towards the development and consolidation of Nation States. Two events of great significance in the history of Europe between 1830 and 1880 were the extension of the sovereignty of the House of Savoy over the whole Italian peninsula and the "Purssianization" of Germany in the acceptance of William I. King of Prussia as Emperor of Germany in 1871. In a series of wars the all German or an all Italian State had to break the power of Austria, neutralize some of the great European powers like France and Russia, and intimidate the numerous little States in their territories to surrender their sovereignty. Consequently, two new states had appeared in Europe. Italy and Germany.

Italy

Italian nationalist feelings were completely ignored in the Congress of Vienna. Austria remained dominant. In 1848 and earlier in 1830 the Austrian presence was challenged. In the traditions of an older secret society like the carbonari. Mazzini founded a new underground society calling it young Italy. His followers grew in numbers and the Resorigimento or Resurgence had became a mission with Mazzini. In 1831 he failed in his attempt at Nationalist revolution but provided a new sense of direction such as freedom from Austria and the priests, and unity within a democratic republic. Papal initiative was taken by Pope Pious IX in working for an Italian confederation. The monorchists under Charles Albert by his "Statuts" granted a liberal constitution to Sardinia. In the 1848 struggle, the tide of unity against Austria enabled it to maintain its sovereignty. Piedmont alone preserved the real hope for freedom and unity.

Italy was not to be a Republic as Mazzini had wished. Victor Emmanuel as a progressive ruler had made Piedmont as a model state and with Count Cavour as Prime-minister in 1852. His three

predecessors Gioberti, Dalbo and D'Azeglio had in their writings mildely stirred the Nationalist movement without much success. On the basis of domestic advancement Cavour provided a base with healthy economy, established the authority of state over church and in some pragmatic aspect introduced Parliamentary Government. He was proving himself to be more than Piedmontese Statesman pursuing a Piedmontese policy. Using the Crimean War and through the Congress of Paris Italian question was Europeanized. Unlike Mazzini Cavour was pragmatic enough to realize that Italy would not drive out the Austrians alone. Plots, insurrections and consequent exile were of no avail in "the poor Peninsula". The record of the last forty years was evidence enough. Napoleon III promised help as a part of a bargain to get Savoy and Nice. After the Austrian defeat at Magenta and Salferno in 1859, the creation of a totally united Italy was recognised as a political possibility. The second war of Independence was now on. Fearing the consequences of these campaigns, Napoleon III withdrew by concluding a separate peace with the Austrians at Villafranca. In those times of war the rulers of Parma, Modena and Tuscany had been overthrown and later were annexed to Piedmont nullifying the peace of Villafranca.

Italian Unification was still very much an unfinished symphony, with Venitia, Papel states, Naples and Sicily still outside the Italian Context. It was Garibaldi, a disciple of Mazzini who had participated in the popular movements of 1831 and 1848 who finally wrapped up the Italian package. The 'Red Shirts' against overwhelming odds in 1860 "Conquered", Sicily and Naples collapsed from within. The push to Rome was the logical outcome of Garibaldi's success. Diplomatically favour wrested the initiative when Garibaldi recognized Victor Emmanuel II as a potential leader of the new Nation. Plebiscites held under Sardinian supervisors revealed an almost unanimous willingness to join with Sardinia. A symbolic Italian Parliament met in 1861 and Victor Emmanuel II was proclaimed king of Italy by the grace of God and the will of the nation ". In a subsequent third war of the independence Venitia was added in 1866 as a prize for Italian aid to Prussia in its war against Austria. Rome was annexed in 1870

consequent to the withdrawal of French troops as a result of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-Italy was ' made '. The apostolate of Mazzini, the audacity of Garibaldi, the diplomacy of Cavour and wars endorsed by vote, ' made ' Italy.

Germany

The unification of Germany in Europe made it not only the most popular country in Europe and without exception the strongest military presence. Bismarck made all the difference what France and Russia had done Austria continued in the 19th century under Matternich. To accept divisions among the Germans, to intiate the rivalries internally and made them dependent externally was an old game that Matternich played ruthlessly. The acceptance of the Carlsbad degrees in 1819 inaugurated an era of repression and despotism which lasted with little opposition for the next thirty years.

The fall out from the July Revolution in 1830, in France expressed German discontent and dissatisfaction. German protests were symtomatic of the growing nationalism which demanded unification and a liberal form of Government in Aambach in 1832. In the intellectual thought of the times collectuist principles and the state were glorified as much as the historical necessity of happenings and movements. Regardless of the Austrian repression, the most significant movement in the 1830's was the extension of the Prussian customs unions, from which Austria had been excluded.

The news of the Paris Revolution of 1848 had once more stressed the naional consequences expressed as a desire to secure constitutions, middle class hopes to displace thinkers and the dream of a United German State. Even Frederick William IV had declared himself ready for a united Germany. In Frankfurt, the Nationalist flag of Black, Red and Gold was accepted and the call went for a preliminary parliament prior to the meeting of the National Parliament. Frederick lost his nerve and did not accept the conclusions of this assembly for fear of Austrian military reprisal. Due to their lack of unity Austria finally imposed on him the humiliating

convention of Mmutz in 1850. Austrian dominance in Germany was now set for another innings. German nationalism had not opened the account and had achieved no tangible result.

In 1858, William I was regarded as Fredrick had become insane, whose interest professionaly was in the strengthening and reforming the army. Inspite of Parliamentary opposition, with Bismarck as Prime Minister, he spelt out the necessity of force. In the Polish Question in 1863, he compromised with Alexander so that he could get a Russian alignment in the wars that he could wage for German unity. When Europe still was concerned with the Polish Question Bismarck reopened the Schleswig - Holstein question. Seducing Austria to join the war against Denmark he opened the first round in the struggle to consolidate Germany. Diplomatically he secured French and Rusian neutrality. The defeat of Denmark had led to a bitter disagreement between the two great rival persons in Germany. Assured of French neutrality, Bismarck was involved in the Seven weeks war in which the See-Saw finally brought Prussia on top. Von Moltke, chief of the Prussian General staff with a modernized Prussian army, good use of the Railways, the telegraph and the needlegun inflicted defeats on the Austrians at Sadowa in 1866. Might was indeed right. By the Treaty of Prague in 1866, the Dutchies of Schleswig - Holstein and the northern German states which had aligned with Austria were annexed and Prussia had become the head of the North German Confederation.

The Question of Hohanzollern Candidature to the Spanish chrone and the diplomatic background of the Ems Despatch crisis tulminated in the longest and last war that Germany had fought on Europe between 1815 and 1914. The military factor which had proved itself in 1866, did so again in 1870, and through strategy the largest French army was by passed and the French army under Napoleon III was defeated on September 1st, 1870.

On the ruins of the French secured Europe,the Second German Empire, was founded on 18th January 1871, William I, King of Prussia was predominant German Emperor in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. Bismarck had done it. Germany was united by a new logic of history. Nationalism in Europe, in terms of

political power had witnessed the appearance of two nations, Italy and Germany, each with a strong sense of territorial integrity and identity, a disturbed foreign policy led by determined leaders in the name of their King. One residual effect was that it was power that " made " a state and nationalism made it possible to harness their resources implict within a people.

Chapter XI

The American Civil war And Reconstruction

Americans gained their independence from Britain by a war and revolution that were rather mild compared with the Civil War. The Civil war was one of the bloodiest wars Americans had fought. It put the union to a very sore test, but it radically transformed American Society in less than a century after independence, had become now a fact.

The Civil War was really an abortive nationalist revolution the attempt of the confederal states to set up a separate sovereignty. In the United State the South was a predominantly agricultural society based on plantation, slavery and on cotton and tobacco much of which was exported abroad. The North was increasingly industrial with a society based on free labour and on independent farm owner. To the conflict of economic interest was added a conflict of ideals, of ways of life. The fire of conflict was fanned especially by the question of slavery which seemed immoral to many in the North and which seemed the order of nature to many in the South.

The first Negro slaves had been brought to Virginia from Africa in 1619, to work in the plantations in the South. For nearly two centuries thereafter the number increased slowly, and the problem of slavery did not assume serious proportion. But soon however many southerners desired the extinction of this human bondage. Increasing numbers of them provided in their wills for the liberation of their slave and contributed money to various projects for retiring the Negroes to Africa. But in 1793 the invention of the Cotton gin turned the tables. The production of cotton was changed overnight from a depressed activity

with a doubtful future into a tremendously profitable enterprise. The total output grew from 4000 bales in 1790 to 175,000 in 1810, and 4,000,000 in 1860. In a very real sense cotton was made the king, and the plantation system with its accomplishment of slavery was firmly fixed in the South.

Yet, by no means was the war an outcome of the North, forcing the South to abandon slavery. Neither were all the Notherners (until at least the eve of the struggle) unanimous in their support for abolition. What most Northerners were chiefly concerned about was the extension of slavery into other territories. They were willing to tolerate its continued existence in the South, but retorted its intrusion into the Louisiana Purchase or into the regions of the Southwest conquered from Mexico in 1848. Such areas they hoped to organize as free states. Perhaps the South would have tolerated such hopes had the two sections remained substantially equal in power and influence. Although North and South had the same number of states as later as 1846, they differed widely in population. The North numbered 9,778,000 and those of the South, 7,344,000. Therefore while the North had a total of 155 seats in the House of Representatives compared with only 87 for the South. Calhoun pointed out that this would mean a perpetual majority in the Electoral College for the North, at the expense of the South meaning this would prevent a Southerner from being chosen President.

Further the North being a manufacturing economy, strongly believed in a protective tariff whereas the rural South wanted to buy the manufactured goods in a free and imported market where the prices would be competitive. Northern States wanted a strong central government to provide for internal improvements, to maintain order. (Stability necessary for prosperity !) Secession, and nullification of the Central Government laws it considered illegal. The Southern leaders on the other hand with their unique institution hoped to keep the activities of the Central Government down to a minimum. They insisted that sovereignty rested with the separate states, that the states had created the Union, and that

the Federal Government was merely their agent. They felt that since the Union was just a voluntary organization of the States, Secession was also their choice. Any act of the Central Government that conflicted with the state's interest was liable to nullification the states in the South felt. Soon Sectionalism and state's interests came to be closely linked with the slavery issue. The Southerners in view of creating a balance with the North wanted to create more slave states. The Notherners retaliated by forming the free soil party in 1848 with the cardinal objective of excluding slavery from the territories.

In 1857 the Southerners rejoiced when the Federal Government made it evident that slavery would not be outlawed from the territories. The Supreme Court verdict in the case of Dred Scott made the civil war inevitable. Dred scott, a slave, owned by a surgeon in the U. S. army had been taken by his master from Missouri to Illinois and thence to Minnesota Territory where slavery had been forbidden by the Missouri Compromise finally back to Missouri. There he sued for his freedom on the basis of having thrice been a resident on free soil. The Supreme Court rejected his plea on the ground that the Congress had no authority to remove slavery from any territory as that would impinge the freedom of the Southerners. The Chief justice also declared that Negroes were not citizens of the United States, and whether bound or free had no right to sue in the Federal Courts. The frames of the constitution never intended that Negroes should enjoy equal rights and privileges with the whites. This the Chief Justice hoped would be a definite answer to the issue on slavery and thus avert a civil war. But it hastened it. The Northerners almost to a man condemned the decision.

The spark which triggered the war was provided by the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. Lincoln was the candidate of the Republican party which opposed slavery. Though it recognised slavery in the South, it could not tolerate its extension to the territories. Despite this moderate stand to the Southerners, the triumph of the Republican party in 1860 was almost a decla-

ration of war. Lincoln, though showed willingness to effect a constitutional amendment to protect slavery in the South also asserted that the nation could not endure "half slave and half free".

With Lincoln's election, South Carolina seceded from the Union. Soon after States announced their withdrawal on February 8, 1861. Delegates from seven seceded states met at Alabama, and established the confederate States of America, with Jefferson Davis as President and Alexander H. Stephens as Vice-President. A month later a new constitution was adopted resembling the constitution of the United States with a few notable changes. It expressly recognised and protected Negro slavery. It limited the President's term of office to a single term of six years. It gave to congress the power to appropriate money, only upon the specific request of the President. It authorized the President to vote separate items on appropriation bills. Members of the Cabinet were granted the privilege of holding seats in Congress and participating in the discussions. In establishing a new Government, the confederates felt that they were acting according to the word and the spirit of the 'Declaration of Independence' to alter or abolish a form of Government whenever it became destructive of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness". The North's reply to this through President Lincoln was, that abolishing a government was legitimate only if it happened to be a tyrannical one and not a democratic government.

The course of the Civil War was a tragic one which lasted for four years. Attack of Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861 was the beginning and the end came when Robert Elee surrendered at Appomoffox Court House on April 9, 1865. The North was in an advantageous position with a population of 22,000,000 compared with only 9,000,000 for the confederacy. The North also had greater financial resources a navy, a highly developed economic structure which the South lacked. The South on the other hand had a long coastline which prevented a blockade. Added to this was a military tradition and a positive advantage of fighting on its won territory. The South's armies managed to win or atleast

prevent defeat in the first two years. The possibility of foreign aid proved encouraging. But a turning point came in 1862. In September 1862 General Lee cut the Union into two, marched a powerful army across the Potomac. General George B. Mc-Clellan, with a Union force twice as large, advanced to meet him. The two armies met at Antietam creek in Maryland. Lee's troops, though not beaten were completely ravaged, and hence had to cross the Potomac. Lee made another futile attempt to invade the North in July 1863 but again was forced to retreat. The fortunes of the confederacy were now on the wane. Lincoln now taking advantage of the more favourable term of events, proclaimed the liberation of slaves in all states and portion of states still in rebellion against the Union. This transferred the Civil war into a crusade and the crusading fervour helped to guarantee victory for the North.

The results of the Civil War were climacteric. More than 200,000 men were killed in battle or died of wounds and 413,000 other died of disease, accidents and other causes. Slavery was constitutionally destroyed by the addition of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Later the Fourteenth Amendment conferred citizenship upon the Liberated Negroes and the Fifteenth forbade the denial of suffrage to them on account of their race, colour or previous conditions of servitude.

The aftermath of the civil war left the South prostrate and hagridden by fears and prejudices and incapable for years from taking part in the democratic evolution of the country. Southerners who had participated in the rebellion were deprived by Congress of the privilege of voting or of holding office, with the result that several of the former confederate states passed under the control of illiterate Negroes and "Carpetbag" politician who had come down from the North. It was America's boldest experiment in 19th century democracy. The Fourteenth Amendment contained a provision of tremendous significance for the economic development of the country. The provision referred to forbid any state to

"deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law". Representatives of big business contended that the word "person" in this provision included corporation as well as individuals. By 1886 the Supreme Court also accepted this contention. The result was to give an enormous stimulus to the growth and expansion of corporations, for it made them virtually immune for several decades from regulations. Almost any act of a state legislature prescribing against maximum hours on minimum wages could be attacked as depriving corporation of their property without due process. Scarcely anything else was done to further the economic revolution in the United States which suffered from the civil war.

The war was over and the Union had been saved, but the cost of saving it had been vast. High among that cost must be set the immense problems which the war left behind it. The United States had a hard course to run after 1865. And the one man who might have guided her, the President, was dead. On the night of April 14, five days after Lee's surrender, Lincoln was attending a performance at Ford's Theatre in Washington. An actor named John Wilkes Booth crept into the box in which Lincoln was sitting and shot him. Lincoln never regained consciousness and died early next day. His assassination deprived the United States of his honesty and shrewdness at a time when she most needed them.

Reconstruction

Although often acclaimed as a struggle for freedom and equality, the Civil war ushered in a period of frenzied dollar chasing and crude exploitation which Mark Twain aptly called the Gilded Age. Until about 1890 the popular attitude was to consider the wealth of America as something to be shared by everyone with ambition enough to elbow his way to the front. The prevailing economic philosophy was that of laissez faire and free competition. Economic competition was regarded as the counterpart of the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest in the biological sphere. These doctrines, were aooarently unfavourable to the unprivileged classes.

The first of the Post-Civil War movements of consequence was the Greenback Movement of the 1870's and 1880's. Primarily an expression of the discontent of debt-ridden farmer, it also had the support of the economist Henry. C. Carey and the industrialist Peter cooper, who became the candidate of the Independent National (Greenback) Party for the President in 1876. The cardinal aim of the movement was to establish what is now called a managed currency. That is, the government by issuing greenbacks would expand the supply of currency to keep pace with the growth of population and the economic development of the country. Much was made of the claim that money in circulation had shrunk from $ 58 per capita in 1865 to $ 17 in 1876.

It was argued that this shrinkage meant severe hardship fcr farmers and debtors who had borrowed money to buy land at inflated prices during and soon after the civil war. What they needed was an increase in the volume of money in circulation, which would produce a rise in prices of the things they had to sell and thereby enable them to pay off their mortgages. But the Greenbacks also had other objectives. They advocated income taxes and the restriction of sales of public lands to actual settlers in 1888, hoping to win the support of organized labour, they extended their platform to include demands for government ownership of railroads, and telegraphs, woman suffrage, and the direct election of Senators.

The Populist Movement of the 1890s proved to be a **broader** and more virile movement, again supported by the farmer. In the campaign of 1892 the Populists, nominated James. B. Weaver of Iowa for Presidentcy, on a platform which advocated a graduated income tax, postal savings banks, telephone lines, direct election of United States Senators and a single term for the President. The Populists also agitated for the type coinage of Silver. The purpose was to increase the prices of food and raw commodities which had sunk to abnormal levels and thereby enable producers to pay their debts.

Chapter XII

Colonialism in Africa

Introduction

From the 16th Century, the African Continent, particularly the Guinea Coast had been the recruiting ground of slaves for the plantation in North America. **Hawkins** was one of the first slave traders who captured the black people from Africa and sold them to rich American Planters as slaves. When the anti-slavery movement started by the great humanitarian, **William Wilberforce** gathered strength at the beginning of the 19th Century, a conviction steadily grew in Europe that unless the African Continent was opened up, settled with the help of farmers and European Missionaries and brought under the control of the European powers, the evil of slavery could never be fully eliminated. This conviction and the desire for colonial expansion led to the peaceful partition of Africa among the leading European States, which was the striking feature of the History of the World in the latter part of the 19th Century.

(A) Causes for the European Expansion in Africa

The causes for the scramble for Africa among the European nations were many. In the first place, as already pointed out the colonisation of Africa was done with a crew to abolish the evil of slavery. Secondly, there was an increase of population in Europe in the 19th Century and the mounting pressure of population led to colonisation of Africa. Thirdly, Industrial Revolution took place in many European Countries and resulted in large scale production of goods. European Countries not only required markets to sell their finished goods but also the supply of raw materials to their industries. To secure a monopoly of markets for their goods, it was thought necessary by the European Governments to establish their rule over the territories in Africa. Fourthly other countries in Europe were dazzled by the splendour and prosperity of the British

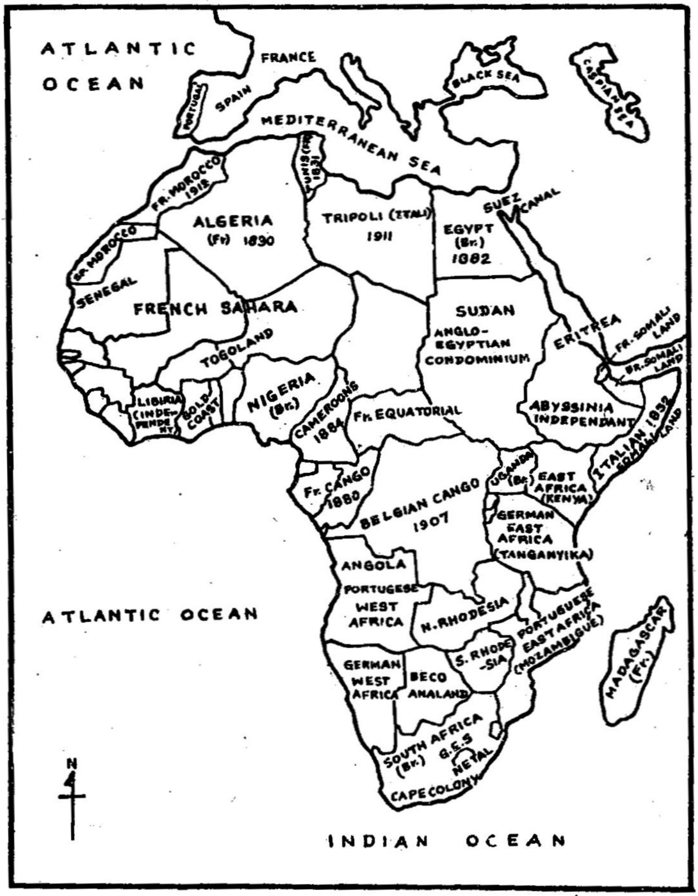

Fig : 12 . 1. Partition of Africa in the 19th Century

Empire which made them eager to secure Colonial possessions in Africa. Finally, most of the areas of the World had already been colonised or occupied by the European races and only Africa remained unoccupied. The interior of Africa was a 'Dark Continent' for a long time to the Europeans, but in the 19th Century adventurous travellers opened the eyes of Europe to the possibilities of the colonisation of the interior of Africa. **David Livingstone** explored the course of the Zambesi and discovered Lake Nyara. **Stanley** went along the course of the Congo and wrote a book 'Through the Dark Continent' which revealed to Europe the resources of the Continent. The sources of the Blue Nile, the Niger and the White Nile were traced respectively by **Bruce, Mungopar** and **Speks** in 1769, 1794 and 1858. **Butron** discovered the lakes Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza.

(B) The Partition of Africa

1. Belgium in Africa

The result of Stanley's book was the founding of the Congo Free State in 1855. **King Leopold II of Belgium** helped the formation of an International African Association to explore Africa and open her to European Commerce. Under the auspices of this Association Stanley was sent to establish Belgian authority in Congo by capturing important stations in the Congo basin. Stanley accomplished his work between 1879 and 1885 and thus helped Belgium to have the Congo Free State (1885).

Leopold's assumption of the Congo territory aroused the ambitions of other European States. There was a scramble among the European States for African territory and before the close of the Century, with the exception of Morocco and Liberia in the West and Abyssinia in the East the whole of Africa came under European rule.

2. France in Africa

Having lost her Empire in the East and in North America in the Seven Years' War and Napoleonic War,

France turned her attention to Africa which was opposite to her southern coast. The northern most part of Africa was very attractive to France on account of its nearness, its climate and products. Even before the establishment of the Belgian authority in Congo, the French had conquered Algeria so early as 1830. In 1881 under the pretext of protecting the eastern frontier of Algeria against the raids of the mountainous tribes of Tunis, France sent an expedition to Tunis and established a protectorate over Tunis. South of Algeria and Tunis, France had extended her authority over the whole of the Sahara region linking up territories on the Senegal and the Ivory Coast and on the Congo. In 1896 she acquired the island of Madagascar off the east Coast of Africa. In 1912 France was allowed to establish her protectorate over Morocco.

3. Italy in Africa

Italy was a late comer in the African scramble. In the days of the Roman Empire, Italy was the mistress of North Africa and therefore she wanted to get back the same, but she had first to secure unity at home before thinking of building an Empire in North Africa. Italy which was divided into a number of States obtained national unity only in 1870. By that time France had acquired Algeria and Tunis. Italy therefore secured Eritrea and Somaliland on the Red Sea Coast. She attempted to establish a protectorate over Abyssinia but **King Menchil** of that country inflicted a disastrous defeat upon the Italian army in 1896 at Adowa and Italy confined herself to Eritrea and Somaliland. In 1935 Italy under the Fascist Dictator, Mussolini conquered Abyssinia, but at the end of the Second World War, lost it.

4. Germany in Africa

Germany like Italy started on a career of empire building rather late, for like Italy, until 1870 she was busy building her national unity and power. **Bismarck,** the architect of German Unity and the founder of the German Empire was at first not

inclined to value Colonies but gradually became a reluctant convert to the principle of overseas possessions. Towards the end of the 19th Century, Germany acquired South West Africa and South - East Africa.

5. Portugal in Africa

Portugal revived her old imperial ambition in the 19th Century and occupied Angola, the territory south of the Belgian Congo. She also formed the Colony of Mozambique or Portuguese East Africa.

6. Spain in Africa

Spain also entered the field and acquired a part of Morocco called Spanish Morocco on the north west of Africa and in 1906 a sphere of Influence on the Coast of Africa opposite to Gibraltar.

7. Expansion of England in Africa

Great Britain secured the lion's share of the spoils in Africa. The dream of some of her Imperialists was realised. Nigeria, Gambia, Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast on the west part of Africa, Egypt and Sudan on the northern part of Africa, British Somaliland, British East Africa and Uganda on the eastern part of Africa and the Union of South Africa in the southern part of Africa, were brought within the British Empire. Britain controlled a belt of almost continuous territory from the Cape to Cairo. We shall deal in detail how Egypt, Sudan and South Africa came under the British rule.

(C) British Occupation of Egypt and Sudan

1. Egypt

Egypt was originally a vassal kingdom of the Turkish Sultan of Constantinople and its ruler was known as the Khedieve. Since the days of **Mehemet Ali**, Egypt was practically independent. Mehemet Ali was succeeded by **Said Pasha** who was succeeded in turn by **Ismail Pasha** (1869-1879). It was in Ismail

Pasha's time that under the auspices of the Suez Canal Company, Ferdinand de Lesseps, a great French Engineer constructed the Suez Canal. The French and the Khedieve had shares in the Suez Canal Company.

Ismail Pasha was an extravagant Prince and he had heavy debts. He was anxious to sell his shares in the Suez Canal Company. Disraeli, the British Premier purchased his shares and acquired for England a strong position in the Canal. This was the first step towards the British Control of Egypt.

Even after selling his shares to Britain Ismail could not make both ends meet. He needed money for his whimsical ways and he borrowed it from Britain and France. Ismail Pasha could not repay the sums borrowed. So Britain and France arranged with the Khedieve for the joint financial administration of the Country by two officials, one English (**Sir Evelyan Baring,** afterwards **Lord Cromer**) and the other French. This was the origin of the **Dual Control.** Ismail Pasha resented the Dual Control and intrigued against the Controllers. Thereupon Ismail Pasha was deposed and his son **Tewfik Pasha** was made the Khedieve.

The Dual Control led to an Egyptian revolt under **Arabi Pasha,** an Officer in the Egyptian army. Arabi's followers captured Alexandria and killed some Europeans. A British fleet was sent to Egypt and it bombarded Alexandria.

Egypt fell into disorder on account of Arabi's rebellion. England proposed to France a joint intervention to restore order. France refused and **Gladstone's Government** in England had to undertake alone the task of restoring order in Egypt. An English army was sent under **Sir Garnet Wolseley.** This army defeated Arabi's troops in the battle of Tel-el-Kabir in 1882. Arabi was captured and banished to Ceylon. As the country was still in a chaotic state, the British occupied Egypt.

Thus owing to a series of circumstances Britain occupied Egypt. Tewfik Pasha was the nominal ruler but the real ruler was the English Consul-General **Lord Cromer.** Cromer administered

Egypt from 1884 to 1909 and during that time he made Egypt prosperous. He restored order; he constructed railways and irrigation works; he lightened taxation and abolished the three C's which had been the evils of Egypt. (The three C's were **Cour bash** - whipping with a lash made of hippopotamus skin; **Corvee** - forced labour and **Corruption**). Cromer has therefore been called the 'Maker of Modern Egypt'.

France was jealous of the predominant position of Britain in Egypt. But in 1904 **The Entente Cordiale** or the Anglo - French Agreement recognised the British occupation of Egypt in return for the recognition of Morocco as a French Sphere of Influence.

2. Sudan

Sudan was the southern province of Egypt watered by the Upper Nile. It was conquered for Egypt by **Charles Gordon,** an English General. After the departure of Charles Gordon from Sudan in 1879, the province was misgoverned by the Khedieve's Egyptian officials. A revolt of the Sudanese broke out in 1882 under the leadership of a Muslim fanatic who called himself the **Mahdi** or Messiah. The Khedieve sent an Egyptian army under **Hicks Pasha** to crush the Mahdi revolt. The Egyptian army was cut to pieces by the **Dervishes,** as Mahdi's followers were called. The rebels now besieged the Egyptian garrisons scattered all over Sudan. The Khedieve sought England's help. The British Government of Gladstone sent **Charles Gordon** to withdraw the Egyptian armies safely from Sudan, but he and his troops were defeated at Khartoum in 1885. Sudan was abandoned to the Dervishes for the next thirteen years.

In 1898 the reconquest of Sudan was undertaken by Lord Salisbury's Government. An army was sent under **Sir Herbert Kitchener** who crushed the **Khalifa's** (Mahdi's successor) forces in the battle of **Omdurman.** Khartoum, the Capital of Sudan fell and Sudan was reconquered. Sudan was placed under Anglo-Egyptian **Condominium** or joint rule.

(D) The British in South Africa

The Cape of Good Hope was discovered by the Portuguese. In the 17th Century the Dutch colonised the territory round the Cape known as the Cape Colony. At the end of the Napoleonic war, Cape Colony became a British possession. The population of the Cape Colony at the beginning of the 19th century consisted of Dutch farmers called Boers, English settlers and the black natives. The Boers were slave owners. In 1833 the Emancipation of the Slaves Act was passed by the British Parliament and it abolished slavery throughout the British Empire. The Boers were indignant at the abolition of slavery. They therefore left the Cape Colony with their wives and children and crossed the Orange River. This is known as the **'Great Trek'**. The Boers settled at first in Natal. The British claimed it as their territory and annexed it in 1842. Thereupon the Boers settled in the Orange Free State and Transvaal. It was with these two Boer Republics that Britain waged two wars, known as the Boer Wars.

The First Boer was fought in 1881. The main cause was that when diamond mines were discovered in Kimberley to the west of the Orange State, Britain annexed the area. In this war the British forces were defeated by the Boers. The Boers thought that they could expel the British out of Africa. It was this feeling that led to the Second Boer War (1899 — 1902). The war was brought about by two men of opposing views. They were **Paul Kruger**, the president of the Transvaal Republic, a person who hated the British and **Cecil Rhodes,** the multi-millionaire imperialist who wanted to bring the whole of South Africa including the Boer Republics within the British Empire. The clash of their rival policies led to the Second Boer War.

In the interval between the First and the Second Boer War (1881-1899), Britain annexed Zululand and Swaziland in 1887 and set up a protectorate over Bechuanaland in 1885. In 1889 Cecil Rhodes (in 1890 he became the Prime Minister of Cape Colony) established the 'British South African Company' which

secured control over a vast region north of Transvaal. The new region was called Rhodesia after Cecil Rhodes. Thus on all sides of the Boer Republics, there were British possessions. This alarmed Paul Kruger.

In 1884 gold mines were discovered in Rand, a district in Transvaal. English adventures and gold diggers rushed to 'Rand'. The new comers were called **'uitlanders'.** Paul Kruger denied political privileges to the 'uitlanders'. They were therefore encouraged to rebel by Cecil Rhodes and his friend, **Dr. Jamieson.** Dr. Jamieson collected a small force and invaded Transvaal in 1895. He hoped that on his arrival the 'uitlanders' would rebel against the Boer Republic. But they did not do so and Jamieson's Raid miserably failed. His force was forced to surrender.

Dr. Jamieson's Raid was the immediate cause of the Second Boer War. Kruger got the support of **President Steyn** of the Orange State and declared war on England.

In this war Britain suffered a number of reverses in over **"Black Week"** but in the end she was victorius. British armies led by General **Roberts, Sir John French** and **Sir Herbert Kitchener** captured Bloemfontein and Pretoria. The Boers surrendered and peace was signed at **Veeriniging** in May 1902. The Transvaal and Orange Free State were annexed but were promised self government. In 1909 all the British Colonies in South Africa united to form the South African Union, and it was given self government. **Louis Botha** was the first Premier of the South African Union.

Chapter XIII

Reform, Reaction and Expansion in 19th Century — Russia

Introduction

" Russia " wrote Pushkin, the famous Russian poet " entered Europe like a ship down a slipway-to the clatter of axes and the thunder of Cannon ". The launching of Russia into Europe was the work of Peter the Great (1696-1725). He westernized Russia by his many reforms, founded St. Petersburg on the Baltic Coast and expanded Russian territory to the Black Sea by wars. The most outstanding ruler after Peter the Great was Catherine the Great (1762-1796) whose reign was the most brilliant in terms of territorial expansions. The notorious partitions of Poland were made by her in colloboration with Prussia and Austria in 1772 and 1794. Poland disappeared from the map of Europe. She also realised Peter the Great's dream of extending the Russian Empire to the Black Sea. Though Russia became a major power, economically, socially and culturally she remained a backward country.

(A) Reforms under Alexander I (1801 - 1825)

Alexander I, who became the Tsar of Russia in 1801 was the grandson of Catherine the Great. He was a man of strange paradoxes. Brought up under the supervision of his grand mother Catherine the Great, he was tutored by La Harpe an Enlightened Liberal, but he was on very friendly terms with the Ultra-reactionarcy Arakcheyev from whom he got ideas of ruling his country. Thus Alexander was a combination of absolutism and liberalism. He has been called the ' enigmatic ' Tsar.

Alexander had a great reputation in Europe as the ruler who destroyed the power of Napoleon. At the Congress of Vienna of 1815 which settled the frontiers of European States, he played an important part like Prince Matternich of Austria. He was a member

of the Holy Alliance of 1815, which became a symbol of reactionary, absolutist Government, opposed to all kinds of constitutionalism and democracy.

During Alexander's reign, Finland, Bessarabia and a large area in the Caucasus were annexed to the Russian Empire, and its population had increased to 45 millions. Russian life was chiefly rural in character. More than half the adult population consisted of Serfs under Alexander I, these were of varying extent and fertility. There were two kinds of land tenure the system of barshchima and that of obrok. In some places there was a combination of both systems. Under Barshchima system, the serfs had to work from three to five days in the week in the fields of their masters. Obrok was a form of rent payable by the peasant to the landlord in kind or in cash. The obrok system was advantageous to both the peasants and the land owners.

The Russian economy was dominated by agriculture and industry was a major part of economy. The manufacturing industries chiefly cotton, wool and linen were concentrated in Moscow, Kostrome and St. Petersburg. In agriculture grain crops like wheat received less attention than commercial crops. Modern methods of production were not tried.

The Napoleonic war ruined Russia's finances and though Britain assisted Russia by growing her subsidies, Tsar Alexander had to resort to heavy taxation to meet the war expenses. The nobility, in trying to increase the income from their estates, enlarged their own lands at the expense of the peasants' allotments.

Alexander did little to reduce the misery of the peasantry. Serfdom remained untouched save for a law of 1803, which gave land owners the right to free their peasants with land against payment of money. These peasants were called " free tillers ". The Russian nobles were not in favour of this law and therefore only half percent of the total serf population got their freedom according to the law of 1803.

At the beginning of his reign, Alexander promised Constitutional reforms but his actual achievement fell short of his promise. The only changes made by him in 1803 were the setting up of a number of ministries to deal with several departments, confirming the senate's role as the Supreme Court of the Country and plans or the establishment of Universities in each of the educational regions of Russia. There were already the Lyerrm at Tsarkoye Selo, Moscow University, the Polish University at Vilna and the German University at Dorpat. Now three new Universities were set up at St. Petersburg, Kazan and Kharkov. Even these modest plans for University education failed to spread higher education in Russia due to lack of financial support by the Government and indifference towards such education on the part of the nobility.

In 1808 Alexander ordered **Speransky** to draft new plans for reforms. Speransky's scheme set up a State Council, which was a body for making laws, appointed by the Tsar and subject to the authority of the Tsar. Alexander also adopted the principle of appointing people to senior postings only, after passing of a qualifying examination. Finland which became part of the Russian Empire in 1809 was given a measure of autonomy and Poland, another part of the Russian Empire was allowed to have Constitutional Government.

After the Congress of Vienna, Alexander was engaged in international matters and had no time to devote his attention to domestic affairs. The Government of Russia was actually controlled by his friend, the ultra-reactionary Arakcheyev. The most notorious of Arakcheyev's undertakings was his organisation of the "military settlements" which were intended to reduce the cost of maintaining a standing army. In these military settlements, the peasants were forced to join the army. They became soldier-farmers and they were under military dicipline. The peasants resented the military discipline imposed on them and there were risings against the Government. They were ruthlessly put down by Arakcheyev.

On the 14th December 1825 took place the famous **Decembrist Revolt.** (hence it was so called) The rebellion was due to the discontent of the younger nobility with the meagre.

Constitutional Reforms of Tsar Alexander

The revolt was originally fixed for 1826, but the sudden death of Tsar Alexander precipitated the rebellion. Tsar Alexander died childless and there was an interregnum of some weeks at the end of which Nicholas I became the Tsar. The rebellion broke out when nearly 4000 troops and their officers refused to take the oath of allegiance to Tsar Nicholas. The loyal troops of the Tsar put down the revolt.

The Decembrist revolt is important for three reasons; it marked the beginning of the revolutionary movement against Russian autocracy; it served as a model and an inspiration for future intelligentsia and it put the Russian autocracy on its guard against the nobility upon whom it relied for support. The unfortunate result of the wholesale massacre of the Decembrist rebels was to deprive Russia of a whole generation of its intelligent and cultured citizens.

(B) Reaction under Nicholas I (1826-1856)

Nicholas I who succeeded Tsar Alexander believed in autocracy as a divinely sanctioned principle. According to him, the Tsar should be the source of law and the head of a hierarchical pyramid of Government. He ruled Russia for 30 years as absolute monarch and virtual military dictator.

The Paris Revolution of July 1830 was imitated by the Poles who were under Russian rule. The rising in Warsaw in December 1830 was a revolt of upper-class, intellectual and officer-cadets against Russian domination and it failed like the Decembrist Revolt owing to lack of unified leadership and want of popular support. The Poles had enjoyed a measure of autonomy under Tsar Alexander. Nicholas revoked the liberal Polish Constitution and incorporated Poland into the Russian Empire. A process of

Russification was started which penetrated every aspect of Russian life.

Nicholas I realised that the gravest problem of Russia was serfdom, "a powder magazine in the foundations of the State." Discontent among the peasants had led to frequent uprising. He passed some laws but they were inadequate to deal with the problem of the peasantry. His reign was a period of reaction which could be seen in four spheres, namely, in the Tsar's personal attitude towards the nobility, in education, in the theory of official nationalism and in the repressive measures taken against all kinds of ideological and cultural changes. Nicholas raised the social status of the nobility but ordered them to be loyal servants of the Tsar. He had a feeling that private educational institutions had taught liberal ideas to the nobles and therefore they took part in the Decembrist Revolt. He therefore set up gymnasiums, teaching classics and sciences in which the sons of nobles were required to study. The high rate of fees collected at the gymnasiums as well as the introduction of formalities governing entrance to these gymnasiums, prevented poorer classes from sending their sons to these schools. University autonomy was also curtailed and the Government kept a close watch on students and professors.

Count Uvarov, the Minister for Education laid down in 1833 the theory of **'Official Nationalism'** which was the worst form of reaction in the reign of Nicholas. The count declared that the Russia of Nicholas I was based on the **Trinity of Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationalism.** This doctrine of official Nationalism was enforced over publicists and writers by the weapons of censorship, imprisonment, exile and execution.

(C) The Epoch of Great Reforms (1855 - 1881)

On the death of Nicholas I in the midst of the Crimean War, his son Alexander II became the Tsar. On the conclusion of the Crimean War, the new Tsar removed the Censorship and the repressive measures of his father. Alexander II had been educated in his youth by the poet **Zhukovsky** in humanitarian sentiments

and wanted to do some good to the Russian peasants. But he had no faith in representative Government and believed in maintaining the policies of the Holy Alliance. Alexander II wanted to introduce reforms with the approval of the nobles. He hoped that if he trusted the nobility as his father had failed to do, the reforms would become a success and his own rule would appear less authoritarian.

In 1861 Alexander II passed the **Emancipation Act** which gave freedom to the serfs. The rights given to the serfs were the right to acquire property, to make free use of lands purchased by them and to inherit property according to local customs. But the actual implementation of the Emancipation Act there were difficulties created by the land owners and the Government officials. As the peasant was not treated as an individual but as a member of a group known as the 'Commune', the peasants were not greatly benefited by the Act. Bismarck the Prussian Statesman is reported to have said that Alexander II would have done more good to the serfs if he had freed them from Communal proprietorship. The allotments made to the serfs were only about half their earning capacity and the peasants were therefore obliged to rent more land from the land owner, offer themselves as hired labour or find other work in order to fulfil their obligations. The effect was to increase land hunger, raise rents and cause greater peasant impoverishment. But one good result of the Emancipation Act was to hasten the change over from a barter economy to a money economy, with a consequent growth of capitalist forces.

Alexander II followed the Emancipation Act of 1861 by a number of reforms in local and municipal government, the judiciary, finances, education and the armed forces. The local Government reform of 1864 set up the **Zemstva,** elective bodies at both provincial and country levels, comprising an assembly and an executive elected for three year terms. The Municipal Reform of 1870 established municipal **dumas** or councils, executive words and mayors elected for four year terms. According to the Judicial Reform of 1864, at local level, minor civil and criminal cases were tried by Justices of the peace elected by the Zemstva or by

municipal dumas. Above these were the regional session courts. Major, civil and criminal cases, the latter with a jury, were tried in District Courts above which were Chambers of justice. The highest court of appeal was the Senate.

The reforms in local and municipal government and the judiciary were intended to modernise Russia and to make all equal before law. But the liberalising effect of these reforms was very much reduced by the subsequent attempts of the government to interfere with the affairs of the Zemstva and the courts.

Alexander II introduced financial reforms. In 1860 the State Bank was set up in the place of the old official credit agencies. The former system of tax farming in liquor was replaced by an excise tax on the sale of liquor. The most important financial reform was the centralising of finances and budgeting under the Ministry of Finance. The financial reforms did not produce the expected results as the Russo - Turkish War of 1877--78 increased the national debt and reduced the value of the Russian rouble.

The reforms in education were at first liberal. Universities were allowed to elect their own councils, rectors and deans and they were open to all regardless of social background. Special courses were started for women at St. Petersburg University. Local bodies like the Zemstva and private individuals were allowed to open primary schools. But after the attempted assassination of Alexander II in 1866, the Government followed an illiberal policy. 'Harmful' subjects such as history, geography and the sciences were eliminated and 'Harmless' subjects like Mathematics and the Classics were prescribed for study. Government control over educational institutions was restored.

The final important reform of Alexander II was the reform of the armed forces. He reorganised the central military administration and set up 15 military regions. He re-equipped and modernised the Army and the Navy and introduced compulsory military service or conscription to all males of 25 years of age and over. Inspite of these reforms, Russia was defeated by Japan in

the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 and by Germany in the First World War of 1914-1917.

The great reforms of Tsar Alexander II were in consonance with the liberal tendencies in modern European countries and were concessions to the liberal and democratic forces in Russia. But as Prof. Richard Freeborn points out, "They were probably successful in postponing revolution against Tsarism, but they were not sufficiently revolutionary to make revolution any less inevitable".

(D) Reaction Again under Alexander III (1881-1905)

The assassination of Tzar Alexander II made his son and successor, Alexander III resort to a policy of reaction. The Tzar gave powers to the Ministry of internal Affairs to arrest and imprison persons who were distrusted by the Government. It was believed in Government circles that the Jews had a hand in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. So a number of harsh measures were taken against the Jews. Strict censorship was enforced on periodicals and books. The new Tsar attempted to get the support of the nobility by setting up of a Nobles' Bank which gave loans at a favourable 4. 5% interest rate. This enabled the land owners to reduce their debts. The independence of the Judiciary was eroded by the Minister of Justice's disciplinary authority over judges. In 1886 an act was passed which arrested and tried as criminals peasants who violated their work agreements with the land owners.

The same policy of reaction was followed in the field of education. Admission to Gymnasiums was curtailed for children of poor parents. Fees at Gymnasiums and Universities were raised. Discrimination was shown in the matter of admission to Universities. Jews were admitted to colleges on a quota basis. They were not permitted to move from their place of residence, to engage in liquor trade, to purchase or manage estates and to take work in local or municipal governments. These anti - Semitic measures made the Jews the most bitter opponents of Tsarism.

In the late 1880s and the early 1890s the reactionary legislation was intensified. The Tsarist Government appointed Land Captains from among the nobility and they were given administrative and judicial authority over the peasant regional divisions. Their power was more or less abolished. They were only subject to the control of the Minister of Internal Affairs. The modest independence given to the peasants by the Emancipation Act of 1861 was reduced by the appointment of these Land Captains. Laws were passed in 1890 and 1892 reducing the autonomy of the Zemstrua and the municipal governments.

In the sphere of religion too, the same reactionary policy could be seen. Religious discrimination was practised against Roman Catholicism in Poland, and Protestantism in the Baltic Provinces. In some provinces of the Russian Empire there was persecution of non-orthodox sects.

(E) Russian Expansion in 19th Century

Russia under Tsar Alexander I played an important part after the fall of Napoleon. At the Congress of Vienna of 1815 Tsar Alexander I played as important a part as Prince Matternich, the Austrian Chancellor. Russia as an important member of the Holy Alliance dominated European politics, though in the interests of reactionary and absolute government. The Holy League attempted to bind Europe in chains. It was hostile to all kinds of Constitutionalism and democracy.

During Alexander's reign, the Russian Empire continued to expand. Military Conquest led to the annexation of Finland, Bessarabia and much territory in Caucausas. In the Balkan peninsula where the Turkish Sultan ruled over a number of christian states belonging to the Slav race, the Tsar of Russia felt it his duty to protect his co-religionists and members of the Slav race. The Pan Slav ideal was one of the chief forces that motivated Russian interference in the Balkans. But as it was against British interests, Britain consistently strove in the 19th century to prevent

Russia from becoming dominant in the Balkan Peninsula. This is known as the 'Eastern Question'.

In 1833, Mehamet Ali of Egypt revolted against the Turkish Sultan of Constantinople. In this hour of distress the Sultan appealed to the European Powers for help and Russia immediately responded to the appeal for this seemed an excellent opportunity to establish her influence. She sent an army and a fleet to defend Constantinople and concluded the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi in 1833, by which Turkey was placed under the protectorate of Russia. Lord Palmerston, the British foreign secretary was alarmed at the single handed protectorate of Russia over Turkey. He along with France persuaded Russia to agree to place Turkey under the joint protection of all the principal European powers and declare the Dardanelles straits as neutral. For the first time a clear anti-Russian grouping of the Western Powers, France and Britain, in support of Turkey had come into being. This became strong in the **Crimean War of 1854 - 56.**

Two incidents led to the Crimean War. One was the dispute over the Holy places and the other was the question of a protectorate over the Greek Church. The Latin monks of Bethlehem who were under the protection of France, claimed the right to control the church at Bethlehem. The Church at that time was actually under the control of the Greek monks in whom Russia took a particular interest. The dispute between the Latin and Greek monks was referred to the Turkish Sultan in whose territories lay the Holy places. The Sultan decided in favour of the latin monks.

Disappoined over the question of Holy places, Tsar Nicholas I demanded from Turkey in 1853 that he should be recognised as the protector of all the Sultan's Greek Church subjects. The Sultan refused to comply with the Tsar's demand, as to do so would give him the right to interfere in the affairs of the Turkish Empire. On the Sultan's refusal, Russian troops crossed the **Pruth** and occupied the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia which were subject to Turkey. British and French fleets were sent to Besika Bay to help

Turkey, but a Russian fleet destroyed a Turkish squadron off Sinopie. War thus began.

The War is called the Crimean War, for most of the operations in the war were conducted in the Crimean Peninsula. The British, French and Turkish armies attacked the Great Russian naval arsenal, Sebastopol which was captured at the end of two years.

The War was ended by the Treaty of Paris of 1856. The European Powers guaranteed the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire. The Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were left autonomous. These later on constituted the Kingdom of Roumania. Russia surrendered Southern Bessarabia. She was not allowed to maintain a fleet in the Black Sea. She gave up her claim to be the Protector of the Greek Church subjects of the Sultan. The Turkish Sultan was required to introduce reforms in his Empire.

Unfortunately the Sultan did not introduce reforms in the Christian provinces of his Empire inhabited by Slavs. The oppressed Christian nationalities like the people of Herzegovina and Bulgaria revolted. The Turks put down the rebellion severely. They plundered and slaughtered on a scale which horrified Europe. Christian Europe was shocked by '**Bulgarian Atrocities**'

At this time Russia took up the cause of the oppressed Christian Slavs, defeated the Turks and threatened Constantinople. Turkey sued for peace and Russia dictated the terms at **San Stefano.** This treaty required the Sultan to recognise the complete independence of Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro which had hitherto enjoyed self-government under his suzerainty to recognise also a new Christian State, Bulgaria.

It was at this stage that the British Premier Disraeli stepped forth. He felt that the Treaty of San Stefano established Russian predominance in the Balkan Peninsula. He therefore wanted to revise the Treaty of San Stefano. He threatened war with Russia, if she did not agree to a revision of the Treaty of San Stefano.

Fig. 13.1. Imperial Russia

Russia agreed and a conference of European Powers met at Berlin in 1878.

The terms of the Treaty of Berlin were : (1) Bulgaria was reduced in size; it was made self governing, but still subject to the Sultan. (2) Russia regained Southern Bessarabia lost in 1856 from Roumania (3) Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania were declared independent of Turkey. (4) Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under Austrian administration.

By a Secret Treaty with Turkey, Britain obtained the island of Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean and agreed in return to defend the Asiatic territories of the Sultan against Russia.

Disraeli scored a diplomatic triumph at Berlin. He avoided war and prevented Russia from becoming powerful in South Eastern Europe. As he said, 'he brought peace with honour'.

However checked in South Eastern Europe by Britain, Russia turned her attention to Asia. When Persia under British influence invaded Russian territory in 1828, a Russian force defeated the Persian army and advanced on Teheran, the Persian Capital. Persia concluded the **Treaty of Turkmanchay** in 1828 which gave Russia the right to set up naval bases in the Caspian Sea.

Towards the end of the 19th Century Britain, France, Germany and Japan obtained valuable ports and concessions taking advantage of China's weakness. Russia also stepped in and obtained from China a concession to build a Chinese Eastern Railway across Manchuria from China to Vladivostok. Russian expansian in Northern China conflicted with Japanese interests. In 1898 Russia obtained from China a twenty-five year lease to the Liaotung Peninsula, including Port Arthur and Darian and a concession to build a Southern Manchurian Railway connecting Kharbin with these ports.

Thus in the 19th Century reform was followed by reaction but the reforms were not satisfying enough to avoid revolution. The reforms only postponed the date of the revolution. Russia took up the cause of the Slavs and Christians in the Balkan Peninsula and tried to dominate over that region, but baffled in the Near East by Britain, she expanded in the Middle East and Far East and at the beginning of the 20th Century, her Empire extended from St. Petersburg to Vladivostok.

Chapter XIV

Meiji Restoration (1868)

[Sino Japanese war (1894-1895) & Russo-Japanese war (1904 1905)]

Introduction

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 is a turning point in the History of Japan. Never in all the history of mankind did a nation make such a stride as Japan did. With great energy and intelligence the Japanese brought their culture and organisation to the level of the European powers. Before 1868 Japan was a mediaeval state and her people were organised in a feudal society; after the Meiji Restoration she was a completely westernized people, on a level with the advanced Russia. We shall now deal with this great event in the History of Japan.

(A) Meiji Restoration

(1) Causes of the Meiji Restoration

In 1853, Commodore Perry with four American Warships arrived at Uraga in Tokyo Bay and threatened that if Japan did not open her port to America, he would return to Japan next year with a larger force. In 1854, Perry returned with a larger force and the Japanese Government signed with him the Treaty of Kanagawa which opened two ports to American trade. Britain, Russia and Holland were also given similar concessions.

In 1858 the American Consul General Townshend Harri s negotiated a commercial treaty with Japan, considerably extending the provisions of the original agreement made in 1854. Britain, France and Russia also got similar rights.

The position of Japan after Commodore Perry's expedition was similar to the position of China after the Treaty of Nanking which terminated the First Opium War. Foreign settlements were established in towns and treaty ports were open to foreign trade.

The opening of Japan to the West made the Shogunate unpopular. Anti-foreign and anti-Shogun slogans were raised in the Capital and many important cities. The cry of ' reverencing the Throne and expelling the foreigner' resounded throughout Japan. The anti-Shogun feeling led to the fall of the Shogunate and the restoration of the Mikado of Japan to his full powers.

There were other causes for the fall of the Shogunate. During the long period of their rule, the Shoguns had heavily taxed the peasants and the latter were discontented. The Shogun rule, known as the **Bakufu** or Military administration had no sound in public finance. It adopted temporary expedients to meet a shortage of funds. It did not resort to national loans. More levies fell upon the peasants and traders who naturally headed the revolt against the Shogunate which was overthrown in **1868.** Mikado or Emperor issued an edict abolishing the Shogunate and the Dual Government of Shogun and Emperor, which had been in operation for 700 years. The Shoguns were deprived of power and the Mikado was restored to full power. This is known as the **Meiji Restoration** and the Mikado who was restored to full power was Mutsihito. His reign (1868-1912) is known as the **Meiji Era** or Enlightened Government.

Though the Meiji Restoration was intended as a clean break with the Shogunate and its policies, it is significant to note that the Shogunate had in its last period sent abroad a number of young men to study in foreign universities and it was these young men who formed the Vanguard of the reforming movement. Again, the restored Mikado had to depend a great deal on the officials of the Shogunate. The Shogunate officials carried out a number of reforms in the new political set up. The Meiji Restoration was a political revolution which gave the Emperor unassailable authority and a greater freedom of operation. The leaders who displaced the Shoguns by careful planning, broke the chains which had been placed on Japan for centuries.

(2) Constitutional Reforms

The new regime introduced a number of reforms on Western lines. Feudalism was abolished and the nobles were either pensioned or bought off. The clans were dissolved. The Samurai who were the ruling class in Japan's military feudal dictatorship were deprived of their military privileges and a new conscript army was formed on modern lines with the advice of the French. The navy was reorganised with the help of the British and the Dutch. Railways, telegraphs, light houses and dockyards were built. Compulsory primary education was introduced. Universities and technical schools were founded under State supervision. Foreign professors were invited to Japan. Young Japanese scholars were sent to foreign universities. A land tax was imposed after a land survey. A new criminal code was framed with the help of foreign jurists. It must be noted however that it was not until 1902 that provision was made for higher education for girls.

A Constitution was set up on the Western Parliamentary model. A Parliament or Diet consisting of two houses, namely, House of Representatives and House of Peers, a Cabinet and a Privy Council composed of distinguished persons and experienced statesmen, were set up. But it was not a Constitution of the British Parliamentary type for the Parliament and the Cabinet did not control the Mikado. The Emperor moved from **Kyoto** where he had been living all these centuries to **Yedo or Tokyo**, the Capital of Japan. The Emperor was treated as if he were a God. The people were asked to believe that the Mikado was a divine person, descended from the Sun Goddess. Japanese Buddhists and Japanese Christians regarded the Emperor as a divine person to whom implicit obedience was due. This was Shintoism where patriotism was associated with religion. The Emperor-worship rested on what has been called a revival of pure Shinto, a Shintoism which purged of Buddhist influence, regarded the Mikado as the Central and supreme deity of the nation. "The Emperor is divine; Japan is the land of the Gods, and Japan has a benevo-

lent mission or destiny". These ideas of Shintoism served to strengthen traditional Japanese thought and created a climate inhospitable to democratic ideas.

With a divine Emperor who not only reigned but governed, there can be no parliamentary responsibility. The Cabinet of Ministers was responsible to the Mikado and the Diet existed only to enable the Emperor to ascertain the people's wishes unique.

The Meiji Constitution was a kind of authoritarianism and Constitutionalism, a kind of hybrid-absolute — Constitutional monarchy. It must be noted that the Restoration of 1868 transferred power from the upper to the middle class. The military conscription introduced in 1873 produced a professional military class and it exercised a great influence through the Emperor. The Elder Statemen or the Genro were also another powerful group. The student of Japanese Constitutional history from the Meiji Restoration to the end of the Second World War has to discover which individuals and groups ruled through the Mikado.

In modernising Japan and bringing on a par with the Western nations, the Japanese never accepted the superiority of the west. They were no doubt impressed with Western science and technology and they used them to make Japan strong and to make the Westerners realise that they were as civilised as the West. During the Meiji Era they built up a race theory, a political ideology and a national morality based on a denial of the basic principles of Western life. In Japan there was no breakdown of the country's social structure. What Japan sought was not a society drawing its strength from liberalism but a rapid assimilation of Western knowledge and technique to make herself stronger. The essential feature of the Meiji Restoration, also called **Nippon's Revival** was the reorganisation and the strengthening of the Shinto, both as a State Cult and as a religion. Japan felt that spiritual unity was necessary for a nation if it was to maintain its individuality and built up its strength. The interest in Japan was exclusively in science and technology.

(3) Political Development

After modernising Japan, the Japanese Government attempted to secure the modification of the Unequal Treaties which she had signed with the Foreign Powers after Commodore Perry's expedition. Russia was willing for the revision, but the other European Powers and America put up a solid front against the revision. Russia signed a treaty with Japan in 1875 by which in recognition of her rights over the **Sakhalin Island,** she recognised Japanese rights over the **Kurile Islands.** This was a treaty between two equal powers; it was an international agreement which placed Japan in the category of the Great Powers of the World.

In 1878 Japan claimed the **Ryukus islands.** Enthically the inhabitants were related to the Japnaese and in feudal times the islands were subordinate to Japan. Later the King of the Ryukus paid tribute to the Chinese Emperors of Peking. So China rejected the Japanese claim. But the king of the islands was persuaded by the Western Powers to accept Japanese rule and in 1879 the Ryukus became part of Japan.

Finding that Britain was influencing the other powers not to agree to a revision of the Unequal Treaties, Japan tried by diplomacy in Western Capitals to secure the support of Britain, Germany and the U. S. A. for a revision of the Unequal Treaties. **Count Inouye,** the Foreign Minister of Japan (1879-1887) succeeded in making the Western Powers to agree to a compromise. The **Inouye Compromise Proposals** included among others a provision that Japanese Courts trying foreigners should have foreign Judges associated with them. The proposals were turned down by the country. The spirit of Japan found expression in a document produced by **General Viscount Tani.** The document denounced the policy of diplomacy and flattery which resulted in the Inouye proposals and they were dropped.

Britain recognised the growing nationalism of Japan and in 1894 concluded a treaty with Japan which provided for the

termination of extra-territoriality in five years and which restored tariff autonomy to Japan. Other nations followed Britain and when as a result of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 Japan emerged as a military power, all unequal treaties were abrogated.

(4) Economic and Social Development

The Meiji Restoration resulted in the industrialisation of Japan and the consequent rise in the wages, income and the standard of life. The economic development led to changes in human relationships and status. The behaviour of a student to his teacher, of a taxi-driver to a policeman and of a subordinate to a superior was one of respect.

After 1868 Government developed the strategic industries like railways, shipping and arms and ammunition. With regard to non-strategic industries like textiles, machine-tools and mining, they were at first managed by the Government and later handed over to private enterprise. Some enterprises were handed over to the financial oligarchy, the **Zaibatsu** at very low rates. Thus financial and industrial Capital came to be cocentrated in the same lands. The principal Zaibatsu were the families of **Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo** and **Yasuda.** These groups controlled most of the industries and trade of the country.

Agricultural development in Japan as a result of the Meiji Restoration was not so spectacular as the industrial development. The land tax imposed by the Government made many peasants of small holdings to sell their lands to a new wealthy landowning class. The accumulation of land in this wealthy class did not make the peasants desert the countryside and move to the cities. They remained as tenants paying high rents to the new landlords while the younger members of the family worked in the textile mills to supplement the family income

The most important social change was the disintegration of the Japanese family structure. Industrialisation and population growth created a shifting population, disrupting the compact family

circle. While the elders remained in the countryside cultivating land or engaged in cottage industries, the younger members of the family drifted to towns to work in factories.

In the earlier days of the Meiji Restoration there was a mania for Westernisation. Western hair style and dress were copied. Class distinctions were abolished. Buddhist priests were asked to marry, raise families and eat beef ! After 1885 the mania for imitating the west stopped and an attempt was made to preserve Japanese traditional values.

(B) Sino-Japanese War (1894 - 95)

(1) Causes

The Meiji Restoration made Japan strong. She now started on a career of expansion to provide lands for her increasing population and markets for her expanding production. **Korea (Chosen)** was a state which had recognised the suzerainty of China. Her King had been paying tribute to the Chinese Emperor for over 300 years. European Powers tried to annex Korea. France notified to China in 1866 of her intention to annex Korea and an expedition was actually sent. But the expedition was a failure and France abandoned her aggressive intention. The Americans made a similar attempt in 1871 but without success. After the Meiji Restoration, Japan put forward her claims on Korea. It had been customary for the Korean Kings to send missions to Japan bearing tribute to the Mikado. Japan was interested in Korea on account of her nearness to her. Japan feared that the Western Powers particularly, Russia would establish their authority in Korea, taking advantage of the weakness of China. Korea in hostile hands was a dagger thrust at the heart of Japan. In 1876 Japan was able to force a treaty on Korea, according to which Korea was declared a completely independent country. This was done deliberately by Japan to enable her to interfere in the affairs of Korea. In spite of this treaty, Korea recognised China as her suzerain. An anti-foreign society known as the **Tong-Hak** (Eastern Learning Society) started a rebellion in 1894. The rebellion was mainly

directed against Japan. The Korean Government was not able to put down the revolt and it appealed to China as the suzerain for help. Japan also sent a force and announced her decision to reform Korea. The Korean Government which was pro-Chinese opposed the 'forced reforms'. Thereupon a Japanese force attacked

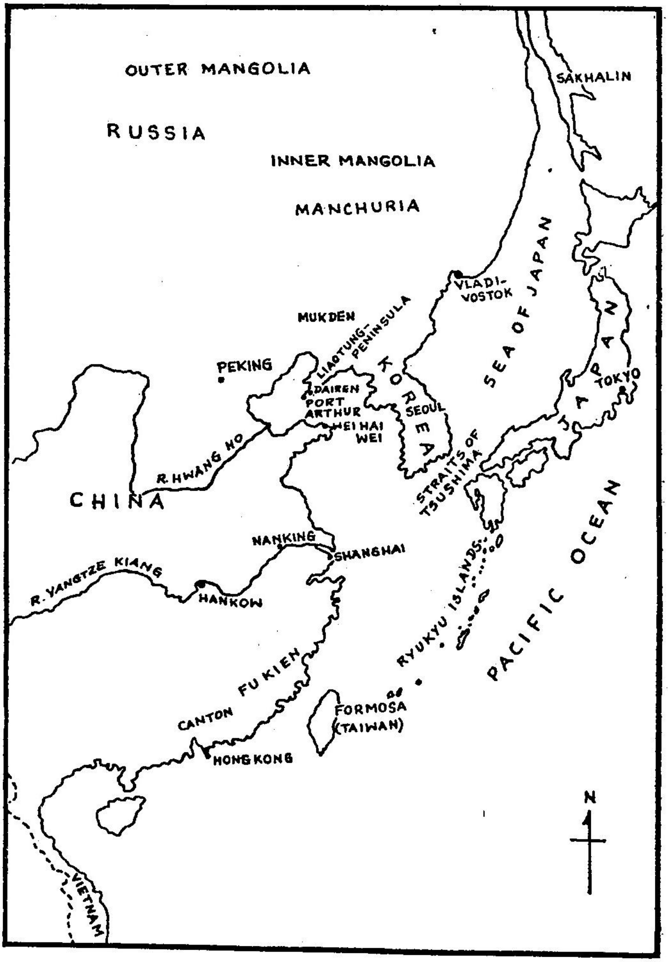

Fig. 14.1. Sino - Japanese & Russo - Japanese War

the Palace at **Seoul,** the Capital, seized the Royal family and kept them in the Japanese Legation. The War began.

(2) Course

The War took place on land and sea - Japanese army defeated a Chinese force in Korea, crossed the **Yalu river** and invaded China, while a Japanese fleet moved into **Darien** and besieged **Port Arthur. A** Chinese fleet shut up at **Wei - Lai - Wei** surrendered and the Chinese mainland was invaded. China sued for peace and a treaty was concluded at **Shimonoseki**. According to the treaty China recognised the independence of Korea, ceded **Formosa** (Taiwan) and the **Pescadores** and the **Liaotung Peninsula** in Manchuria to Japan. China also agreed to pay a huge war indemnity and give Japan all the privileges which the westerners enjoyed. Eight days after the treaty was signed. Russia, France and Germany persuaded Japan to rerurn the Liaotung Peninsula to China.

(3) Results

For China the results of the war were disastrous. She had been regarding herself as 'the Middle Kingdom' surrounded by a number of tributary States like Korea, Manchuria, Indo-China and Burma. This proud Middle Kingdom was defeated by a people whom the Chinese regarded as inferior. The old Confucian theory of international relations was that China was the centre and that all other States were inferior to her. China's neighbours were not considered as her equals. This Confucian theory was destroyed. The war not only resulted in the loss of territories to China, but it exposed her weakness and damaged her international position as well. The Treaty of Shimonoseki was a turning point in the history of China's relations with the Foreign Powers. She came to be known as the 'Sick Man of Asia'.

The Sino - Japanese war gave confidence to Japan. It announced the appearance of a new power in Asia. **Kaiser Wilhelm II** of Germany regarded the emergence of Japan as the 'Yellow Peril'.

(C) The Russo-Japanese War (1904 - 1905)

The Russo-Japanese War was due to Russian advance into Manchuria. Russia took advantage of the weakness of China and promoted her interests in Manchuria which was close to her eastern borders. This was against Japanese interests. Already Russian expansion in Central Asia in the 19th Century had alarmed Britain and Russo-phobia drew Britain and Japan together. Thus the clash of Russo-Japanese interests in North China and Britain's Russo-phobia were responsible for the war.

Causes

(1) Japanese gains by the Treaty of Shimonosek interfered with Russia's ambitions in the East. The Cession of the Liao-tung Peninsula with the ice free harbour of Port Arthur gave her a strategic command of Peking and brought her into serious rivalry with Russia in Manchuria. Russia sought the help of Britain, France and Germany to revise the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Britain refused and thereby earned the friendship of Japan. France and Russia were members of the Dual Alliance and therefore France supported Russia. Germany also supported Russia for she was afraid of the 'Yellow Peril'. Coming to the intervention of Russia, France and Germany, Japan had to give up some of her gains. The Liao-tung Peninsula and Port Arthur went back to China in return for a large sum of money. On account of the revision of the Treaty of Shimonoseki by Russia, Japan bore a grudge against her and this led to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05

(2) In 1897 Russia forced China to give her Port Arthur. Japanese anger at the Russian possession of this valuable port which had been granted to her by the Treaty of Shimonoseki could easily be imagined. Russia also obtained the concession of the Trans-Siberian Railway through Manchuria to Vladivostok and to Port Arthur.

(3) Russia's ambitious moves in the Far East as referred to earlier, drew Japan and Britain together. It will be remembered

that Britain did not join with Russia, France and Germany in revising the Treaty of Shimonoseki. According to the Anglo-French Alliance of 1902 it was agreed that if either Power was attacked by two enemies at the same time, the other should come to her aid. It was the first time that an Oriental State had been admitted on equal terms to a European alliance and it gave an international status to Japan.

The immediate result of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was to precipitate the Russo-Japanese conflict. The alliance was a great diplomatic victory for Japan. It recognised the special interests of Japan in Korea. Again if France by the Dual Alliance went to the assistance of Russia against Japan, Japan would get the help of Britain on the score that she was attacked by **two 'enemies'**. As France was prevented under threat of war with England from going to Russia's help, the Alliance gave Japan a distinct advantage.

(4) In 1903 Russia opened a through railway service between Moscow and Port Arthur. A Russian Viceroyalty of the Far East was also created which meant that Russia claimed Manchuria as her province. Russian troops then marched into Korea. It was then that Japan intervened and demanded from Russia an undertaking to respect the integrity of China and Korea, an affirmation of the 'Open Door' Doctrine and a reciprocal acknowledgement of Japanese interests in Korea and Russian interests in Manchuria. Russia insisted on retaining a free hand for herself in Manchuria, while imposing upon Japan severe restrictions in Korea. Thereupon Japan declared war on Russia.

Course

The strange thing about the war was that it was fought between Japan and Russia in China which was not a belligerent. The war was therefore fought on neutral territory. China was not able to stop the fighting in her territoty namely, Manchuria, because she was weak.

Many people thought that the war was a struggle between a giant and a pigmy and that Russia would easily crush Japan. To the surprise of the western nations, Japanese forces defeated the Russian armies in the battles of the **Yalu River, Liao-Yung, Shaho** and **Mukden** and captured Port Arthur after a long siege. The most decisive battle of the war was fought in the Straits of Tsushima (between Korea and Japan) where the Japanese fleet led by **Admiral Tojo** (the Nelson of Japan) destroyed a Russsian fleet which had come all the way from the Baltic Sea. It was a magnificent victory for Japan, as great as that of Trafalgar for England. The destruction of the Russian fleet brought the war to an end and the mediation of **Theodore Roosevelt,** the American President was accepted. A treaty was signed at **Portsmouth** in 1905 by which Russia gave Japan the base of Liao-tung and the icefree Port Arthur together with the southern half of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Port Arthur. Russia also gave Japan the southern half of Sakhalin, restored Manchuria to China and recognised Japanese influence in Korea. No indemnity was paid.

Japan felt that the gains were not equal to the great sacrifices she had made in the war. She was particulary annoyed at the loss of indemnity. She thought that American intervention was responsible for what she regarded as unsatisfactory terms.

Results

The Russo — Japanese War had far reaching results. It diverted the attention of Russia to the Balkans, as she was prevented from expansion to the Far East by Japan. The Russian disasters in the war made the Tsarist Government unpopular and led to a revolution in Russia. The marvellous success of Japan on land and sea led to an awakening in Asia, particularly in China and India. It led to the Chinese Revolution of 1911. It increased the tempo of the Freedom Struggle in India. On Japan the war had momentous results. She became a World Power and entered into competition with the European Power in the partitioning of China into 'Spheres of Influence'. Japan called

the 'Britain of the East' embarked upon a policy of blatant imperialism after the Russo-Japanese War.

To manage the railroad and other properties obtained from Russia in South Manchuria, Japan set up the Southern Manchurian Railway Company (SMR) in which the Japanese Government owned one half of the capital stock and controlled appointment of the principal officers. The SMR became an effective agent of Japanese penetration in South Manchuria and roused the jealousy of the Foreign Powers. The Russians exercised control in North Manchuria. Thus the Russo — Japanese war resulted in Russia and Japan establishing their spheres of influence. The 'Open Door' policy of affording equal opportunities to all nations to trade with China was given up. China's integrity and independence were ignored by the Foreign Powers within a few weeks of the signature of the Treaty of Portsmouth. Japan forced the King of Korea to hand over the control of foreign affairs to Japan and accept a Resident General at Seoul to supervise the administration. The Dual Government continued till 1910, when Korea was annexed by Japan and became part of the Japanese Empire.

Japan took advantage of her success in the Russo-Japanese war to exploit China. China with her teeming millions became the dumping ground of Japanese manufactured goods. Vast deposits of coal and iron ore which had hitherto remained untapped were fully exploited by the Japanese. Japanese steamers worked on Chinese rivers. Japanese teachers were employed in Chinese schools and Chinese students anxious to get the benefits of western education, went to the Tokyo University. The Chinese Reform Movements which effected a number of reforms in China looked to Japan as their model.

Chapter XV

Chinese Revolution of 1911

Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th Century there was a revolutionary stir in China. A Constitution of the Japanese type came into existence in 1909, making China a limited monarchy. Japan in her own reorganisation and in accordance with her temperament, had turned her eyes to the Monarchist West, but China looked across the Pacific and admired the great Republic of the United States of America. In 1911 the Chinese Revolution began and in 1912 the greatest community in the world became a Republic.

(A) Circumstances Leading to the Fall of the Manchu Dynasty and the Establishment of the Chinese Republic

The failure of the Boxers and of the reactionary policy of which they were the spearhead, contributed to the overthrow of the old order. The **Empress Tzu Hsi** became a convert to reform late in life and organised the Government on modern lines. She entrusted the work of reforms to **Yuan-Shi-Kai,** the most powerful man in the country. He carried out army reorganisation. Reforms in education and recruitment to public service were introduced and political reforms were promised. A Western Education, and not Chinese Classical Learning based upon Confucian teaching, became the Key to the Public Services. This had the most profound effect on the Chinese mind for ideas and values on which Chinese society and government had traditionally been based, were now discredited overnight. Republican ideas became current among young officers as a result of American influence on China.

The Manchu Dynasty was adopting itself to new ideas but unfortunately the Empress Tzu-Hsi died in 1908. The new Emperor was **Pu-Yi,** and infant an the Regent, **Prince Chum** was a weakling.

The Manchu Government imposed heavy taxes to meet the war indemnity of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894 - 1895 and the still heavier Boxer indemnity of 1901. To add to the troubles there were floods and famines between 1910 and 1911. Due to over population and suffering, the Chinese migrated in large numbers to South-East Asian countries, like Malaya and Indo-China.

The revolutionary movement grew quickly after the enthronement of the infant Emperor Pu-Yi. There was a desire for greater Westernisation prompted by Japan's victories in the Russo-Japanese War. But the Regent Chun's incompetence and delay in summoning a National Parliament and giving it necessary powers as well as the anger of the capitalists against the Government's attempt to set up a strong central government and take away the autonomy of the provinces produced discontent. The leader of the Reform Party was **Dr. Sun Yat-Sen** and open revolt against the the Manchu Dynasty broke out in his native city of **Canton.**

Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was born into a China which had been exposed against her will to western influence. Her humiliating defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 to 1895 made him an enemy of the Manchu Dynasty. For 17 years he lived the life of an outlaw because the Manchu Government had fixed a huge sum on his head. He therefore travelled throughout China in disguise. He gained the confidence of secret societies which had been formed to overthrow the Manchus. He made two world tours inspiring the Chinese every where with his passion for a national renaissance. He formed a party called the **Kuomintang** which was drawn chiefly from the commercial and middle class in Canton and Shanghai. These men entertained liberal and progressive ideas. In October 1911 there began revolts in **Canton, Hankow,** and **Wuchang.** At this time Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was in the U.S.A. and he reached China in December 1911 to lead the revolutionaries. As the revolution spread to other towns, the Manchu Government in Peking, recalled Yuan-Shih-Kai, whom it had dismissed in 1908. He was willing to come only on his own terms. In the meantime

city after city had declared itself against the Manchu Government. In December 1911 a National Council met at Nanking and declared Dr. Sun Yat-Sen as President of the Chinese Republic. The young Emperor abdicated in 1912 and instructed Yuan-Shih-Kai to set up a Republic. To preserve the unity of the nation, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen withdrew from the Presidency and Yuan was elected in his place.

Thus the Manchu Dynasty was overthrown and China became a Republic. The old order centring upon the Emperor and drawing its strength from a Confucian bureaucracy was swept away. Before the Revolution, family was the unit of society and the Chinese family was dominated by the dead, ancestor worship was given undue importance. The New China adopted the Western Christian ideal of the sacredness of human personality, of the equality of men and women. Typical of the new position of women were the **Soong Sisters**, one of whom married **Chiang - Kai - Shek** and shared with him the duty of reconstructing China on modern lines. In China Confucianism which placed emphasis on Conduct had a greater influence than Buddhism and Taoism. Now with the Revolution of 1911 Christianity was accepted by many Westen educated Chinese. Dr. Sun Yat - Sen and many others were Christians.

The New China gave up **Kowtow** (the habit of prostrating before a superior), footbinding and pigtail which were the symbols of Manchu rules. Before the Revolution, education was confined to the few as the written Chinese language with thousands of characters, was difficult to learn. The New China modernised education and simplified the written language so drastically that anyone could learn it.

Dr. Sun Yat - Sen's watchwords were **San, Min, Chin** (Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism). To give the Chinese a decent standard of living, he introduced modern methods of cultivation, set up industries and improved the means of communication.

(B) Yuan - Shih - Kai's Presidency

The Chinese Republic which was set up in 1912 had a constitution in which the President was placed under the control of a Parliament or National Council. In the Parliament elected after the establishment of the Republic, the members of the Kuomintang Party were in a majority. In 1913 there was a clash between the President and the Parliament over the appointment of army Commanders. Yuan obtained a large loan from the bankers of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and Japan to make himself independent of Parliament and bought arms and ammunition. The Powers were only too willing to give Yuan the loans he had applied for. They demanded as security for the loans salt taxes, which were to be administered by the Maritime Customs, already under foreign personnel. He replaced the army Commanders in the Yangtse Valley and the South with his own supporters. The Kuomintang party headed by Dr. Sun Yat - Sen resisted this action of Yuan and rebelled against him. Yuan defeated Dr. Sen and his supporters and Dr. Sen fled to Japan. Yuan then dissolved the Parliament to weaken the Kuomintang. He then arranged a referendum. It was a carefully rigged one and Yuan declared that the people's verdict was in favour of the restoration of monarchy with himself as the Emperor.

The democratic feeling had grown so strong in the country, that though Yuan was elected Emperor, he took the title of **'Hiung - Hsien' or Glorius Constitutionalist.'** But a rebellion against Yuan began in Yunnam and it spread to other parts of China. Finding that there was universal opposition to his becoming the Emperor, he postponed his enthronement. In 1916 he died leaving the infant Republic to face a number of problems. Though the Chinese Revolution did not have sufficient momentum, it was now clear that Chinese Monarchy which had been in existence from pre historic times could no longer be revived.

Japan took mean advantage of China's weakness. When the first World War broke out and European Powers were engaged in a deadly struggle Japan captured **Tsingtao**, the German port of

Kiaochow and annexed the Kiaochow Peninsula. She also forced Yuan-Shih-Kaito agree to the '**Twentyone Demands**', which if they had been fully accepted would have made China a Japanese protectorate. The demands were intended to ensure the paramountcy of Japanese interests in China for all time, to eliminate other foreign interests in Chinese affairs, to reserve certain territories like **Shantung** and **Fukien,** opposite Formosa, as special spheres of Japanese influence to place Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mangolia under the special protection of Japan and to secure control of Police administration in important areas through Sino-Japanese joint administration.

Yuan died in 1916 and Dr. Sun Yat-Sen came to power, but only in South China. There was no strong Central authority in Peking; there was no national army. The Peking Government was under the influence of Japan and the Canton Government was nationalistic, progressive and dynamic. The period from the death of Yuan in 1916 to 1928 is known as the 'War Lord's Period', because **Tuchuns** or war lords with their private armies were ruling their own areas and fighting against their rivals

The Chinese Revolution of 1911 was a failure The Revolution was not followed by the establishment of a democratic governmet but by Yuan-Shih-Kai's authoritarian government based upon military power. To keep himself in power, Yuan appointed military commanders as provincial military governors. This led to the rise of war-lords or Tuchuns who divided the country into several regions warring with one another. Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen's programme of Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism was not carried out. The Revolution of 1911 led to independent movements in the former Chinese dependencies of Mongolia and Tibet. China had to recognise Outer Mongolia as autonomous, but not independent. With regard to Tibet China recognised her autonomy but the Chinese Government stationed a Resident and a small guard at the Tibetan Capital, Lhasa.

Chapter XVI

The First World War (1914-1918) and the League of Nations

The First World War

Introduction

It is usual to blame Germany for the First World War of 1914-18, but we should remember that all the great States of Europe before 1914 were in a condition of aggressive nationalism and drifting towards War. (Probably Germany ruled by an imperialist Kaiser led the general movement and was responsible for provoking the War). In the words of H. G. Wells, " she fell into the pit first, and she floundered deepest. She became the dreadful example at which all her fellow sinners could cry out".

(A) Causes of the War

1. Germany's ambition

With the accession of **Kaiser William** II in 1888, Germany became a disturbing factor in European politics. Kaiser William wanted to make Germany the strongest power in Europe. He felt that Colonies for Germany were necessary not only as a sign of her world importance, but as an outlet for her expanding population and economic interest. To secure and protect colonies, a strong navy was necessary. He increased the naval expenditure by one third and this alarmed Britain.

Before the accession of Kaiser William II, **Bismarck**, the Iron Chancellor of Germany, had formed the **Triple Alliance** in 1882 among Germany, Austria and Italy. This alliance was aimed against France and naturally, France was anxious to get allies. When the ambitions of Germany became clear through the dynamic programme of Kaiser William II, Britain allied herself with France

and formed the **Entente Cordiale** in 1904. This Anglo-French alliance was the work of the English King, Edward VII and **Lord Landsdowne,** the British Foreign Secretary.

The Anglo - French Entente of 1904 was a diplomatic revolution. Britain which had been at war for centuries with France, now became her ally. It laid the foundations of an Anglo-French friendship which has increased in strength up to the present day.

According to the Entente Cordiale France recognised the British occupation of Egypt and Britain recognised the French position in one part of Morocco, the other part being under Spanish control. Kaiser William II objected to France and Spain closing upon Morocco. He visited **Tangier**, the Moroccan harbour and demanded that an international conference should settle the Moroccan problem. France had to agree and an International Conference took place at Algeciras in 1906 which decided in favour of the independence of Morocco with freedom of commerce to all nations.

The diplomatic victory of Germany at Algeciras drew England and France closer than before. France and Russia had formed the **Dual Alliance** in 1895. In 1907 Britain joined the Dual Alliance; and the Entente Cordiale expanded into the **Triple Entente**. Thus Europe was divided into two opposite camps — the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy and the Triple Entente of Britain, Russia and France.

The strength of the Triple entente was seen in the **Agadir Crisis** of 1911. France occupied Morocco with her troops on the plea of serious internal disorder. This was not liked by Kaiser William II who sent two warships called **'Berlin'** and **'Panther'** to Agadir, a Moroccan port. A critical situation arose. The Liberal Ministry of **Asquik** firmly declared that if Germany attacked France, England would help France. This had the desired effect. Germany composed her differences with France in a peaceful manner. Germany agreed to the establishment of a

French protectorate over Morocco on condition that other countries were given freedom of trade.

The Agadir Crisis was a defeat for Germany, and from this time she began to strengthen herself by increasing her army and navy.

2. Rivalry between European States in the Balkans

The Ottoman Empire ruled by the Turkish Sultan of Constantinople extended over the Balkan peninsula consisting of Christian States like Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Roumania. Turkey was the 'Sick-Man of Europe' and taking advantage of her weakness, the Christian States had either become independent or autonomous in the 19th century. In the fight for their freedom the Balkan States had been helped by Russia, for she wanted to play a dominating role in the Balkan Peninsula. Besides, she desired to help the Christian nationalities, many of whom except the Greeks, belonged to her slav race.

In the 20th century Austria wanted to play an important part in Balkan politics. Supported by Germany, Austria annexed in 1908 **Bosnia** and **Herzegovina** which she had been asked to administer by the Congress of Berlin of 1878. Serbia was helping to get these two provinces as they were peopled by Slavs and she expected Russia to help her. But Russia which lay prostrate after her defeat in the Russo - Japanese War of 1904-05 was not able to help Serbia. Serbia and Russia were discontented and their discontent led to the war.

Another member of the Triple Alliance, Italy also took advantage of Turkey's weakness, declared war on Turkey in 1911 and annexed **Tripoli** in North Africa.

The Christian States of the Balkan peninsula, namely Bulgaria, Roumania, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey in 1912 and the Treaty of London which terminated the **First Balkan War** restricted Turkey in Europe to a small

territory round Constantinople. But in the distribution of the spoils of war, Christian States quarrelled and Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania declared war on Bulgaria. This is known as the **Second Balkan War**. Bulgaria was defeated and she had to surrender some territories. Serbia was the greatest gainer.

Bulgaria and Turkey looked to Germany for help in order to recover some of their territories. Austria was alarmed at the growth of Serbia; All these complications and rivalries led to the outbreak of the First World War.

3. Assassination of Archduke and His Wife

On June 28, 1914 at **Serajevo,** the capital of Bosnia, **Archduke Franz Ferdinand** and his wife were shot dead by a Serbian lad. Austria decided to use this opportunity to crush Serbia. The Austrian Government declared that the murder must have been done with the connivance of the Serbian Government and demanded the dismissal and punishment of a number of Serbian Officers and School teachers. Serbia accepted some of Austria's demands but refused others on the ground that to grant them, would involve a violation of her sovereignty. Serbian reply was rejected and Austria declared war on Serbia.

Russia saw in the Austrian demands another attempt to extend the power of Austria in the Balkans and a menace to her ambitions there. She, therefore, took up the cause of Serbia nad mobilised her troops to fight against Austria. Thereupon Germany, Austria's ally declared war on Russia. France mobilised her troops to help her ally, Russia and on August 3, Germany declared war on France. Italy a member of the Triple Alliance, remained neutral as she felt that the other members of the alliance were not engaged in a defensive war.

When the war became general, Germany made a bid for British neutrality offering, if England remained neutral, to guarantee the territorial integrity of France after the war. But since the German Government refused to give the same guarantee

regarding French colonies, Britain rejected the offer. Britain asked both France and Germany whether they would respect the neutrality of Belgium. France gave an affirmative answer; but Germany gave an evasive reply. Britain declared that her navy would defend the northern and western coasts of France in case of German naval attack. German troops violated the neutrality of **Luxemburg** and prepared to invade Belgium. On August 4, the King of Belgium appealed to Britain for help against German invasion. The unprovoked violation of Belgium whose neutrality had been guaranteed by Germany in the 19th Century made England declare war on Germany.

(B) Course of the War

Italy though a member of the Triple Alliance did not join with Germany and Austria. Germany and Austria were called the **Central Powers.** Bulgaria and Turkey joined with the Central Powers. On the opposite side were the members of the Triple Entente and Belgium and Serbia. Italy joined them in 1915 and the U. S. A. in the last stage of the War in 1917. These were called the **Allies.**

The war was a global war and it took place in several parts of the world. For the first time, air was used as a field of war. Air - ships called Zeppelins and later on aeroplanes were sent to raid Britain. Tanks which were a British invention (invented by **Churchill** and **Major Swinton**) were used in the last stage of the war. Trench warfare on land and submarine warfare on the sea were the other features of the war.

i. War on the Western Front 1914

German forces over ran the whole of Belgium and invaded France. They advanced towards Paris, but on the banks of the **River Marne**, an Anglo French army under **Generals French** and **Joffre** defeated the German army. The battle of the Marne was a turning point of the war. Henceforth for a long time there was only trench warfare on the Western Front.

Fig. 16.1. First World War

ii. War on the Eastern Front (1914 - 1915)

Russia invaded East Prussia but her forces were crushed by a German army under **Von Hindenburg at Tannenburg.**

In the meantime Turkey had joined the Central Powers and Italy the Allies. Britain sent a powerful fleet to attack the **Dardanelles** with a view to open up a path to Russia. But the Dardanelles Expedition was a miserable failure.

On land a German army under Von Hindenburg, the hero of Tannenburg defeated a Russian army near **Masurian Lakes,** invaded Poland and captured Warsaw. Another German army under **Von Mackensen** cleared the Carpathian region of the Russian armies. These defeats discredited Tsardom and brought about the Russian Revolution of 1917. Russia kept out of the war and concluded the **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** with Germany surrendering a number of territories on the Baltic to Germany.

iii. War on the Western Front 1917

Russia withdrew from the war as a Revolution had taken place. The ruthless German submarine warfare forced **Woodrow Wilson**, the American President to declare war on Germany. It was at this time that Tanks were invented and the Allied army was provided with Tanks. The arrival of American forces on the Western Front was another gain to the Allies. A great offensive was begun by the Allied army under **Marshal Foch.** A revolution had taken place in Germany and the Kaiser had abdicated. He fled to Holland, a neutral country. The German army surrendered at the eleventh minute of the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 1918. (Nov. 11, 1918)

(C) Results of the War

1. The war resulted in an enormous waste of human life and treasure.

2. Four Empires came to an end, three of them-German, Austrian and Turkish-as as penalties of defeat, the fourth, the Russian, as the result of internal revolution.

3. The horrors of war and the devastation caused by war made the Statesmen of the world set up a League of Nations.

4. The war resulted in recasting the map of Europe by the Allied Statesmen at the Peace Conference of Versailles. We shall describe at great length the Versailles Settlement which was a result of the war.

Peace Settlement of 1919 – The Versailles Settlement

(i) Personalities at the Conference

In the Versailles Peace Conference the real leaders were **Clemenceau** of France, Lloyd George of Britain, President Woodrow Wilson of America and Signor Orlando of Italy. They were called the '**Big Four**'.

In the Peace Conference Wilson shone at first with the lustre of a Messiah. He was an idealist and had often emphasised upon a just and lasting peace, based upon the wishes of all the peoples and not upon the selfish interests of the victorious nations. During the war he had laid down his '**Fourteen Points**' as the basis of a lasting peace. They included the evacuation of all territories occupied by the Germans, restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, independence of Poland, readjustment of the Balkan States, of Italy, and of Austria-Hungary on nationalist principles, impartial adjustment of colonial claims, abolition of secret diplomacy, declaration of the freedom of the seas, reduction of armaments and the establishment of a League of Nations.

Woodrow Wilson was outwitted by Lloyd George and Clemenceau at Versailles. Clemenceau popularly known as the 'Tiger' was an inflammable patriot who put the interests of France first and foremost, even above moral considerations. He had seen his country twice invaded by Germany (1870 and 1914) and he wanted security for his country. Lloyd George was a wily diplomat, who on matters like 'freedom of the Seas' and

'reparations' from the enemy, was not prepared to give way. He came from a country which wanted to 'hang the Kaiser' and make Germany pay for all the losses inflicted on her shipping and trade.

Signor Orlando of Italy wanted territories for Italy. He said, "France is getting Alsace - Lorraine, England is getting the bulk of the German Colonies. What do we get?"

Thus the Conference at Varsailles in 1919 met the same fate as the Congress of Vienna of 1815. In both, phrases like 'reconstruction of the social order', 'regeneration of the political system of Europe', 'Just Peace' were talked about. Actually both Conferences divided among the congress the spoils of the Conquered.

(ii) Territorial Arrangements and Military and Economic Terms

The terms of peace were embodied in five main treaties, namely, of **Versailles** with Germany, of **St. Germain** with Austria, of **Trianon** with Hungary, of **Neuilly** with Bulgaria and of **Sevres** with Turkey.

Germany was to lose Alsace - Lorraine to France. the three small Prussian districts of Moresnet, Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium, the Baltic port of Memel to the Allies, most of Posen and West Prussia to Poland if a plebiscite of the inhabitants should so decide, her Colonies and overseas possessions and all special rights in several countries. Danzig was made a 'free port' in Polish territory; the Saar Valley a German district, with a population of about half a million was placed under international control for 15 years, during which period France was to exploit the coal mines as compensation for the destruction of her own mines in the north by the Germans; at the end of 15 years a plebiscite was to decide whether Saar was to go back to Germany or to be retained by France.

Fig. 16 . 2. Europe before the Versailles Settlement

Fig. 16 . 3. Europe after Versailles Settlement

Austria lost to Italy the Southern Tyrol, Trieste and Istria and some islands to Yugo - slavia she lost Bosnia and Hezegovina, the Dalmatian Coast and some islands; to Czecho - Slovakia Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia to Poland Galicia and to Roumania Bukovina. The Austro - Hungarian Empire was broken up and she now became a small state of 6 Million Germans round Vienna on the upper Danube. Union of the small Austrian State with Germany (Anschluss as it was called) was forbidden. Only a unanimous decision of the Council of the League of Nations might allow the union of the two countries.

Hurgary also was broken up. She gave Transylvania to Roumania, Croatia to Yugo - Slavia and the Slovak provinces to Czecho - Slovakia.

Bulgaria gave the Aegean Coast to Greece and some territories in the west to Yugo - Slavia.

The Treaty of Sevres with Turkey was not ratified by the Turkish Nationalists. The treaty was subsequently revised at Lausanne in 1928. By the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey lost Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. Her territory in Europe was confined to a small area round Constantinople.

The German army was reduced to 10,000 men and conscription was abolished; a belt of territory thirty miles wide east of the Rhine was demilitarised, that is, Germany was not to fortify that area or keep an army there. The German Fleet was to be surrendered to Great Britain (It was scuttled at **Scapa Flow** by the German admiral a few days before the peace was signed). Germany was to deliver large quantities of coal to France, Belgium and Italy and she was to pay 'reparations' for damage done to civilian population. To enforce the treaty terms, the Allies were to occupy the left bank of the Rhine for 15 years.

Similarly the Austrian army was reduced to 30,000 Hungarian to 35,000 and the Bulgarian army to 20,000. Conscription was abolished in all the States. "Thus dynasty, army and empire disappeared in the whirlwind".

With a view to prevent wars in future, Wilson desired to set up a League of Nations and the Covenant of the League was included In the Treaty of Versailles.

The Versailles Treaty was felt to be severe by Germany but Lloyd George said, "Gentlemen, you must sign, If you don't do so in Versailles, you shall do so in Berlin'.

(iii) Nature of the Peace Settlement

The Peace Treaty was a dictated settlement. The terms were severe because of the conditions which prevailed at the time of the settlement. In the first place, the old monarchies of Russia, Germany and Austria had disappeared and the Poles, the Gzechs and the Serbs had set up national governments in their places. The Allied Statesmen could not check these nationalist movements and they therefore allowed the creation of new States like Poland, Gzecho - Slovakia and enlarged Serbia of Yugo - Slavia. Secondly, the temper in all the victorious countries was to punish Germany and Austria who were held responsible for the war. Thirdly the Conference took place at Versailles, near Paris where one could see the destruction caused by Germany. As prof. H. A. L. Fisher points out, "In the inflamed atmosphere of Paris the ideals of appeasement fought an unequal battle with those of retribution".

Though the Peace Treaties contained severe terms, they bear Wilson's mark. In the new map of Europe drawn by the statesmen of Paris only three per cent of the total population of the Continent were made to live under foreign rule. Judged by the test of self-determination, no previous frontiers of European countries had been so satisfactory. Again, the Government of the League of Nations was placed within the frame work of the Treaties.

Thus the Peace Treaty was not lacking in idealism. It had two principles, the principle of self-determination, and the ideal of the Covenant. It liberated new nations, baptised new Republics, provided for guarantees tc minorities in States and set up the League of Nations. While the Vienna Settlement of 1815 ignored democracy and nationalism, the Peace Settlement of 1919 recognised these two principles.

The League of Nations

Introduction

The horrors of war, the devastation caused to Europe and the sufferings that were likely to continue for a long time as a result of the war made the Allied statesmen who met at the Peace conference in 1919 at Paris-Versailles to establish a machinery to abolish war. President Woodrow Wilson, the idealist took a leading part in this important work and he has therefore been called the architect of the League of Nations. Wilson included the Covenant of the League in the new political system set up by the Peace Settlement.

(A) Objects and machinery of the League

The objects of the League were " to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war". Every Member State agreed to submit its quarrel to the League before resorting to arms. The result of this arrangement was that, though war was not excluded, it would be minimised. Member States were required also to limit armaments and practice open diplomacy. 'Open covenants openly arrived at was to be the motto of every country.' The league was also to protect the standard of life among the workers and promote international hygiene. Just as the Congress of Vienna took up the question of the abolition of slavery, the League of Nations was entrusted with the task of helping the backward peoples to come to a respectable level of civilisation. This was the **Mandatory Principle** or the principle of Trusteeship, the idea that the power of the ruler should be exercised for the benefit of the governed. The Colonies of Germany and some territories of Turkey like Iraq, Palestine and Syriya were handed over to Britain and France which were called the **Mandatories.** These **Mandatories** were required to give an account of the administration of the Mandated States to a League Commission at

fixed intervals. This was certainly a great advance in international morality. It prevented exploitation of the weaker peoples by the stronger ones.

The League contained the following bodies. There was an **Assembly** consisting of three representatives of every Member State who met once a year at Geneva, the headquarters of the League. Then there was a **Council** consisting of nine members, five of whom were permanent Members. (and they were the representatives of Big powers) and four temporary members, elected by the League Assembly. The strength of the Council was later increased. The League Council met as often as business demanded.

Then there were: (1) the **International Secretariat** to prepare and execute the League business: (2) **Permanent International Court of Justice** to decide international disputes; (3) **International Labour Office** containing representatives of Capital and Labour to provide industrial arbitration and improve labour conditions.

At first there were only 44 States in the League. Russia stood aloof. Germany, Austria, Turkey and other ex-enemy States were not considered ripe for admission. America whose President took a leading part in the setting up of the League disowned it. The Republican Party which had a majority in the American Senate (Wilson was a Democrate) repudiated the League and America did not join the League.

It must be noted that the League was not a superstate overriding the national governments. It was an association of nation states for common purposes. Hence there was a requirement that any decision of the League Council should be unanimous. But this very clause prevented the League from being a success, for unanimity was not easily obtainable.

The League Secretariat was located at Geneva in Switzerland and Geneva became the headquarters of the League. Among the statesmen who did much to strengthen the League were

Lord Cecil of England, one of the framers of the Covenant, **Dr. Benes of Czecho - Slovakia, Nansen of Norway, Politis of Greece** and **Aristide Briand of France.**

(B) Achievements and Failure of the League

Though the League was not able to bring about universal disarmament and to avoid wars, it was able to do good work in a smaller sphere during the 15 years of its existence The International Court of Justice handled more than 30 cases, delivered in some cases judgements and in some others advisory opinions. In 1926 Germany and in 1934 Soviet Russia were admitted to the League. It settled the Swedish-Finnish quarrel over the Aaland islands; it avoided a war between Greece and Bulgaria; it settled a dispute about Memel. Through the International Labour Office and other organisations it was able to improve the conditions of labour and prevent the spread of diseases. Through the Mandatory System, it was able to improve the condition of backward areas.

The League, however, broke down when the major interests of the Great Powers were involved. In 1930 Japan invaded Manchuria and set up a puppet state called **Manchukuo.** When the League of Nations protested, Japan resigned from the League. In 1935 Mussolini the Italian Dictator invaded Abyssinia and the League employed the weapon of economic sanctions against Italy. This had no effect on Mussolini and he annexed Abyssinia to the Italian Empire at the end of a short campaign. About the same time there was a civil war in Spain, and Germany, Italy and Russia interfered in that war. Germany under Hitler repudiated all the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, rearmed and made herself a powerful state. In 1938 Germany forced Austria to unite with her, though Austro-German Union or Anschluss could be effected only with the consent of the League of Nations. Germany's annexation of Czecho-Slovakia in 1938 and of Memel in 1939, Italy's seizure of Albania in 1939 and Russia's domination of the Baltic States in 1939 undermined the authority of the League of Nations. One by one the aggressors left the League.

Japan left the League in 1933; Germany withdrew in 1933 after a short membership period of seven year, and Italy withdrew in 1937. Only Britain and France, among the Great Power, continued to remain in the League.

(C) Causes for the Failure of the League

The first cause for the failure of the League was that the Covenant of the League was incorporated with the Treaty of Versailles. Wilson insisted upon this incorporation to ensure the League's establishment, but it gave the appearance of an attempt on the part of the victorious nations to preserve a political settlement that was favourable to them. Germany regarded the League as a 'Victor's Club' to guard the spoils of war. Though the initial prejudice of Germany towards the League was broken and Germany joined the League in 1926, Germany after the rise of the Nazis in 1933 and Italy after the advent of the Fascists in 1922, regarded the League as an organisation for the strengthening of the Anglo-French domination and wrecked the League by their aggressive actions.

The second cause was that America was not a member of the League. President Wilson who regarded the establishment of the Leagus as his life mission was not supported by the American Senate which had a say in regard to America's foreign policy. The tragedy was that America, whose President sponsored the League, discarded it. This was a great handicap to the League from the beginning.

Thirdly, the League of Nations system was based on democratic practices and parliamentary traditions. While France and England had experience of parliamentary institutions, other members had no such experience and did not fit in easily into the League of Nations System.

Finally, the League had no military and administrative power to enforce its will upon rebellious states. When Japan annexed Manchuria, the League could only protest. When

Abyssinia was invaded by Italy, the League could only apply weak economic sanctions against the aggressor. When Nazi Germany committed aggression, the League looked on helplessly. So the League became like a Judge who can decide that the prisoner is guilty of a crime but who cannot have him punished for it. The prisoner just walked out of the court laughing! When nations saw this plight of the League, they no longer took any notice of the League. The League of Nations became a 'League of Notions'.

Chapter XVII

Russian Revolution And Lenin

Russia before 1917 was an Empire ruled by an absolute monarchy. Long after other great powers had begun to develop modern industry Russia continued to be a backward agricultural country, in which farming at a very low level of output was carried on by some 15,000,000 small peasant owners or tenants. The 130,000 land owners, of whom the greatest was the Tsar or Emperor himself, maintained their economic and political rule by dictatorial methods, and for decades held back economic development and social progress.

Till 1861 most of the peasants were mere slaves, tied to the land as serfs and who could be bought or sold like animals. The peasants could only hold their land collectively, as a village community. The peasant could not leave his village without police permission, and that too for only brief periods. In large areas of the country the peasants went on ploughing the landlord's estate with their own equipment and horses - for wages, or as rent for additional plots of land, or to pay off debt, a relic of the serf labour prevailed before 1861 which survived right up to 1917. The peasant was a defenceless wage labourer on the land owner's estate, instead of a serf. Poverty and economic stagnation remained the characteristic features of the Russian village.

Russian agriculture on the eve of the first world war showed the lowest yields in Europe. Before 1861 Russian industry had been greatly hampered in its development by the prevailing feudal economy. But it made rapid strides afterwards particularly after 1870. Russian industrial expansion in the last twenty years of Tsardom took place at a time when the technique of large scale production in countries with a longer industrial history had made great progress; with the consequence that very large plants, employing thousands of workers in each establishment, were built in Russia from scratch. By 1910

about 54% of all Russia's industrial workers were employed in factories with 500 workers or more. But in spite of this rapid progress in industry Russian economy remained incredibly backward. This was due to the fact that survival of feudalism in the Russian countryside, with the paramount dominantion of the Russian landowner in political life which they perpetuated, hung like a grinding millstone round the neck of Russia's economy long after 1861. However an enormous influx of foreign capital facilitated Russia's industrial development in the 1890s.

Against the oppressive consequences of these economic social condition, for the individual and for society as a whole, the Russian people were for generation in constant and revolt. The people ruled by the Russian Tsar were always distinguished by their stubborn fighting quality in the face of oppression whether foreign or homegrown. It was their vast guerilla war which broke the back of Napoleon's Grand Army in 1812, and not merely 'General Winter'. Ceaseless peasant outbreaks against the land owner and Tsarist officials also inspired a whole generation of courageous and middle - class revolutionaries in the middle of the 19th century. No peoples in Western Europe can show a more magnificent record of resistance to oppression, at the cost of life, liberty and happiness freely given, than those of Tsarist Russia during the 150 years before the Revolution of 1917. Alexander II (1865-1881) came to the throne in 1855 amid a widely spreading desire for reform. Many of his subjects, even among the conservatives believed that social and political conditions must be changed if Russia was to keep up with the other European states. The new czar was well meaning and, while no democrat, he realized the necessity of moderate reform. His first move was against serfdom. A growing humanitarian movement attacked serfdom labelling it a national disgrace. There was also an economic motive for the emancipation of the serfs. Many estates were heavily mortgaged and the landlords hoped to get cash, and a good price, from the government in return for freeing their serfs.

Alexander II made up his mind to abolish serfdom. In his words, he believed it was " better to abolish serfdom from above than to wait until it will be abolished by a movement from below". The Emancipation Proclamation was duly issued in March 1861. The process of liberation was a gradual one, serfs on landed estates being freed immediately, those who were domestic serfs in 1863, and those on the crown lands in 1866. By the decree, the serfs were given certain political rights, and the cottages and implements they had been using turned over to them. The division of the land proved to be a difficult problem. The serfs had expected a portion of the lord's land to be turned over to them without charge. Instead of receiving their lands as a gift, the freed peasants had to pay a special tax for a period of fortynine years to the Government, which had paid the landlords a handsome price for the lands they had lost. In numerous instances the peasants complained they had been given the poorest land, and generally speaking the landlords were most generously treated. All the lands turned over to the peasants was held collectively by the Mir, the village community which supervised the various holdings and divided the land among the peasants.

The emancipation of the serfs was the most important single event in the nineteenth century Russian history. It was the beginning of the end for the monopoly of power by the landed aristocracy. Emancipation brought a supply of free labour to the cities. Industry was stimulated and the middle class grew in numbers and influence. Above all, emancipation gave strong impetus to the liberal movement against the autocracy of the czars.

In the 1860s a remarkable movement known as Nihilism developed among the intelligentsia. For some time many Russian liberals had been dissatisfied by the empty discussions of the intelligentsia. They accordingly launched a movement which had as its aim the putting of all things in Russia to the test of reason.

The Nihilists criticized the tyranny of the government, questioned to all old values, and championed the independence of the invididual. A kind of youth movement, it delighted in shocking the older generation.

The Nihilists first turned to the aristocracy, whom they hoped to convert to the cause of reform. Failing this, they turned to the peasants. A vertiable missionary movement followed. Young college students became labourers to work in the fields with the peasants. Others as doctors and teachers went to the villages to preach reform to the people.

This Go-to-the People campaign is known as the Narod movement (Narod, ''to the people").

While Nihilism and the Narod movement were gaining momentum, the Czar Liberator, as Alexander II was called, proceeded to carry out additional reforms after the abolition of Serfdom. In 1864 local government was transformed by the Zemstvo Law. In the country elective local boards, zemstvos, were set up on which the gentry, the middle class and the peasants were represented. These boards were given power to collect taxes for roads, asylums, hospitals and schools. In the same year important reforms in the judicial system were carried through. The courts were reorganized on the French model, trial by jury in criminal cases was introduced, and justices of the peace were created to take care of minor cases. In 1870 city government was improved by the creation of municipal councils controlled by the propertied classes. Four years latter conscription for the army affecting all conscripts classes was introduced. Before this, most army conscripts had been taken from the peasant class.

After making a promising start toward modernizing Russia's socio-political structure, the czar faltered and gradually retreated toward conservatism. Alexander was deeply disturbed by the serious revolt of the Poles in 1863 and by what he considered the unreasonable and fantastic demands of the intelligentsia.

As Alexander grew more conservative, the Nihilist movement was also chaging in character. The Narod movement had collapsed. The government had persecuted it, and even the peasants, who could not understand it, rejected the movement's advances. In response to the persecution of the Narod movement and the growing reaction of the government, the radical branch of the Nihilists in 1879 formed. The People's Will movement. A stirring manifesto was issued defending representative government, universal suffrage, and other reforms. Terrorism was also advocated and systamatically practised. One after another, prominent officials were shot down or killed by bombs. After each assassination placards appeared describing why this " act of justice " had been performed. Finally, after several attempts, Czar Alexander II was assassinated in 1881, just as he was on the verge ot making some reforms in the government in an effort to placate the Nihilists.

The new Czar, Alexander III (1811-1894) was not even a pseudo-liberal but a staunch reactionary. On assuming the throne he announced that he had no intention of weakening his autocratic powers. In the mind of Alexander III Russia could be saved from chaos and disorder only by shutting herself off from the democracy and liberalism of western Europe. It was natural that the czar championed the school of thought known as Slavophilism, which believed that Russia should remain true to herself, unprefoned by degenerating alien influences. On the other hand the school of westerners, supported in the main by the intelligentsia, maintained that only by adopting western science and liberal institutions could Russia prove to be a great nation.

The most influential adviser of Alexander III was pobiedonostov whose name is written largc on the pages of late nineteenth-century Russian history. This official had been the tutor of his master the czar. He had a brilliant mind together with the passionate hatred of liberalism. In his view the great sins of

Europe were democracy and the parliamentary system. He expounded his reactionary philosophy in his Reflections of a Russian Statesman. In his memoirs he gave vent to such thoughts as, " Parliament is an institution serving to satisfy the personal ambition, vanity and self-interest of its members."

Under Pobiedonostov terrorists were hunted down and a rigorous policy of Russification was carried out. One nation. one language, one church, and one government- and that too autocratic was the formula of administration. In Poland the use of the native language was forbidden in the schools. The Jews were bullied and sometimes massacred in terrible drives called pogroms. Everywhere the lesson was plain to see "conform or suffer"

In the realm of politics reaction seemed powerful enough to block change, but in that of economics Russia witnessed significant developments during the reign of Alexander III. An Industrial Revolution was begun which brought about a great increase in railroad mileage, growth of coal and iron production and development of manufacture. This new industrialism increased the urban population, strengthened the middle class, and created a large proletariat who were generally underpaid, discontented, the middle class, and created a large proletariat who were generally underpaid. dis-contented, and ripe for revolution.

Alexander III was able to cope with the forces of liberalism fairly well, and his son. who became czar in 1804, hoped to do the same. Nicholas II(1894-1917) however was a weak man with hardly any force of character. He inaugurated his reign by announcing that all reformers were engaging in "senseless dreams" and that " principle of autocracy will be maintained by me as firmly and unswervingly as by my lamented father".

The Industrial Revolution. however was quietly and unobtrusively helping to create forces that would finally overthrow this last " Czar of all Russia " There was much agitation in the cities, where workers engaged in frequent strikes. New revolutio-

nary societies were founded. All kinds of organisations clamoured for reform lawyers' clubs, chambers of commerce, zenstvos and trade unions — as the new revolutionary movement got under way. The government struck back energetically Nicholas' Minister of Interior was the chief pillar of autocracy. This official, Plehve, tried to arouse racial hatreds among the people. Bands of thugs called Black Hundreds, were organised to carry out pogroms and to attack liberals. Plehve's spies were everywhere and the fierce Cossacks were often used to carry fire and sword into rebellious regions. A veritable fight to death was carried on between the Russian revolutionists and the secret police of Plehve. The most despicable trick of the government was to plant agent provocateurs in the ranks of the revolutionists, who helped to incite them to murder officials and then exposed them to the police. The revolutionists, however, gave a good account of themselves. Many officials were assassinated and in 1904 Plehve himself was killed by a terrorist's bomb.

It was apparent to the czar and his advisers that something was needed to divert the attention of the people from domestic problems. Trouble was brewing with Japan over the clash of rival imperialism in Manchuria and Korea. Little was done in St. Petersburg to try to reach an understanding with the Japanese. War was the logical outcome.

Instead of strengthening the corrupt gevernment, the war completely discredited it. The Russian fleet was destroyed, and on land the Japanese gained victory after victory. There was almost universal criticism of the czar's regime.

By this time there were several distinct reform parties. The progressive elements among the businessmen and nobles thought of themselves as Liberals. They wanted a constitutional monarchy and believed in peaceful reform. Their leader was a famous historian Paul Miliukov. Another and much more radical group were the Social Democrats. This S-D Party followed the tenets of Karl Marx. To them democracy was only a half-

way point. Capitalism was just as much an enemy as was autocracy. Their belief was that there had to be a complete social and economic as well as political revolution. The S-R Party, the Social Revolutionaries, were followers of the Narod tradition. Peasants, to them, were much more important than factory workers, the country more important than the city. The objective of the S-R's was to get more land for the peasants, and their slogan was "the whole land to the whole people". Terrorism was a favorite weapon of this party.

Disorders and demonstrations spread throughout the country in the closing months of 1904, and on January 22, 1905, there occurred the tragic incident known as Red Sunday. On this day a priest named Father Gopan led an enormous crowd to the Winter palace in St. Petersburg to present a petition to the czar.

When the procession reached the Winter Palace it found a strong guard of Cossacks waiting. The troops opened fire on the defenseless crowd and many people were killed and wounded. This massacre shocked the world. People all over Russia were infuriated. The Social Democratic Party issued a manifesto calling the czar and grand duke " the scum of the court ", threatened them with death, and announced : " Down with monarchic government. We will establish our own government - The Revolution and the Constituent Assembly of the People's Representatives ".

So aroused were the Russian masses that a general strike was declared. Beginning with the railway men, it spread to many industries. Soviets i. e. Councils of Workers - appeared in the cities to direct revolutionary activity, and practically all economic life in the country came to a standstill. Russia was paralyzed. Despite the exhortations of the government the strike continued. The Orthodox Church, long the bulwark of autocracy, tried to appeal to the people. The people, however were not moved and long remembered the support given to the czar by the Church.

The Government was helpless and in October 1905 Czar Nicholas issued his famous October Manifesto. This message promised " freedom of person, conscience, speech, assembly and union ". A State Duma, a legislature, was to be called without delay and the right to vote extended The czar further promised " that no law shall go into force without its confirmation by the State Duma ".

When the October Manifesto was issued, the radical Social Democrats following the line of Karl Marx, rejected it as insufficient. On the other hand the more moderate liberal groups were satisfied with the promise of the Duma. When the socialists tried to organize new strikes and when an insurrection of workers in Moscow was put down only with difficulty by the troops, many moderate reformers began to give their support to the government. By the end of 1905 therefore there was disunity among the liberals and the czar's position was considerably strengthened.

When the First Duma was convened in the spring of 1906 its powers had been greatly circumscribed. There was, however, great enthusiasm among the people. After the czar opened the session, the Duma proceeded to censure the government, demanding an investigation into the conduct of the Japanese war, autonomy for Poland and Finland, and the freeing of political prisoners. Finally the Duma dissolved in the mid-summer because said, the czar, its members would not co-operate ". This arbitrary action caused the leaders of the Duma to adjourn to Finland, where they issued the Viborg Manifesto calling upon the people to refuse to pay taxes because the czar was ignoring the Duma. The people, however, were disorganised and apathetic. Nothing came of the people.

Sensing the decline of revolutionary fervour among the people the czar appointed a reactionary prime minister named Stolypin. Again the familiar pattern of executions, arrests, and pogroms followed. So many people were hanged that the noose was dubbed " Stolypin's necktie". In 1911 this reactionary was assassinated.

A Second and Third Duma were called in 1907 and another was summoned in 1912. By 1907 a new voting was organized and the composition of the Dumas became quite conservative. Notwithstanding the government's ability to dominate the later Dumas, these rather conservative bodies did manage to carry out important moderate reforms. Advances were made in education, the colonisation of Siberia was encouraged, and local government of the zemstvos was strengthened. Further reforms came, before this the assassination from the reactionary Stolypin, who sought to gain the support of the peasants as against the city workers. All payments still due under the Emancipation Law were obolished ; peasants were encouraged to withdraw from the Mir and become owners of their own land ; and Peasants Banks were set up to extend credit. While designed to buttress autocracy, there is no doubt that these agrarian reforms did much to improve the lot of the peasants.

Many of the objectives of the reform parties in Russia were not realized. In a sense, then, the Revolution of 1905 was a failure. The czar had been forced to make some concessions. but he had weathered the storm very well because of the loyality of the army, the staunch support of the officials of the Orthodox Church, and division among the opponents of czarism.

In spite of the fact that the revolution fell short of what was needed to make Russia a land of constitutional government, the October Manifesto was a definite stop forward.

During the course of the nineteenth century Russia had been touched by some of the influences of western Europe, especially political liberalism and the growth of representative government. Potentially, with its immense land area and huge population, the empire of the czars was the strongest power in the family of nations. But until the closing years of the ninenteenth century Russia in the main remained a huge sleeping or at best semiconscious - giant equipped with tremendous natural resources only inadequately utilized. In the 1890s however, a great

social and economic tranformation began to make itself apparent. Industrialization made rapid strides, under the leadership of Count Sergei Witte. Foreign capital in large amounts was obtained, so that by 1914 Russia was the greatest debtor nation in Europe most of the foreign funds being obtained from France. Railways expanded until in 1922 Russia had the second largest track mileage in the world. Large amounts of sugar, flour, alcohol and tobacco were processed and manufactured and the cotton industry was the fourth greatest in the world. Iron production was roughly equivalent to France's and coal production about one ninth of England's. Russia, however remained basically agricultural and its exports were only half those of diminutive Holland.

Along with this economic revolution went encouraging social changes. Between 1908 and 1913 the number of elementary schools increased from less than 100,000 to 150,000 and plans were laid to provide all children with basic educational facilities by 1923. By 1914 there were eleven Russian universities enrolling 137,000 students. While fifty per cent or more of the people still remained illiterate, and the characteristic form of Russian life persisted in the small isolated village, the country during the course of the nineteenth century already had given brilliant evidence of its capacity to enrich world culture in the areas of literature, music and science.

In the field of social legislation the government began to introduce accident insurance, factory codes, and sickness relief, and took steps to legalize trade unions. Accompanying these social and economic changes went a rapid urbanization of the population so that city dwellers less than six percent in 1851, had climbed in 1914 to 17.5 percent. In the rapidly growing cities a large factory proletariat was created, numbering as many as three million by 1900. In spite of material gains made by Russian labour unions from 1900 to 1914, the city mas es were discontended and very very class conscious. A considerable number were introduced with Marxist doctrines obtained from the Social Democrats organized in 1898. In the years immediately after 1900

the workers were very restless and an epidemic of strikes broke out. Another rash of strikes developed in 1914 and in July 19 of that year a general strike was called involving more than 300,000 workers and leading to armed clashes between the workers and police.

Russia in transition, thus it was apparent by 1914 that the once inert and torpid domain of the czars was beginning to move toward a modern state. Traditional periods are usually painful and often hazardous, and they call for enlightened and intelligent leadership. This desired element in the Russian transition however was almost non-existent for bribery and ineptitude were prevalent to an unbelievable degree among the ranks of the bureaucracy and in the ruling circle around the royal family. Later, we shall see that the forces of moderation and gradualism proved inadequate to lead Russia though its difficult transition period and were superseded by those of extremism and class warfare.

As the First World War drew to a close the triumph of democracy seemed assured. Soon after fighting ceased however, a reaction against democratic institution arose in Europe and elsewhere. In the Balkans, Russia, Poland Turkey, Italy, Iran and finally Germany some form of strong centralized government prevailed sooner or later. The earliest and one of the most significant of these was the government of Russia, a gigantic socio-economic experiment. About one hundred seventy million people were embarassed by this new state, in all area more than twice the size of the United States and having natural resources greater than all the rest of Europe.

In 1914 the Russian government was still in the hands of an irresponsible clique of nobles. The czar supposedly all powerful was in reality often controlled by a small circle in the imperial court. Most notorious of his advisers was Rasputin, who exercised a malignant influence over the royal family. This evil person, reputed to be a monk, was able to at times control government policy through his influence over the czarina.

Growing Russian industries had created a working class restless and rebellious because of low wages and intolerable working conditions. Strikes took place more and more frequently and in July 1914 serious labour troubles broke out. The peasants were also dissatisfied. Land reform, in their opinion was necessary to break up large estates and to distribute agricultural returns more equitably. Several political parties had developed in opposition to the existing regime. Most important of these was the Social Democratic party organised about 1890 by George Plokhanov.

The Social Democratic party espoused Marxian Socialism and worked not only for the overthrow of the czar's government but also for the destruction of capitalist society in Russia. The party carried effective propaganda to the workers and organised meetings in other countries where the delegates would be safe from the Russian secret police. In 1903 an important conference was held in London. Here the organisation split into two factions over the methods required to attain the socialist state. The Monshoviks led by Plokhanov, believed socialism should grow gradually and peacefully, that it should " sprout under the shell the capitalism, using constitutional means The Bolshoviks led by Nimkolay Lenin, advocated forcible methods because they believed the socialist state could never be achieved through seeking parliamentory majorities. Lenin thought that the capitalist system, including parliamentary government as it then existed, must be overthrown by revolution To gain this end, the Bolshoviks must bore from within, filling the workers and with discontent against their employers the bourgeoisie. Lenin's goal was rule by the working class, or in a phrase borrowed from Karl Marx, " the dictatorship of the proletariat", when this was achieved the capitalist class would be eliminated and all industry would be taken over by the workers government. It was believed that the best time to accomplish a worker's revolution was during a national crisis especially during wartime.

Although the Bolshoviks, or Communists as they were called after 1918, repudiated the democratic state and planned

to establish a dictatorship their approach and philosophy differed fundamentally in its theory from that of the Fascists in Italy and the Nazis in Germany. Fascism as we shall see, envisaged a permanent dictatorship of the state and severe restrictions on the exercise and scope of individual freedom. The Russains, however, held that the dictatorship of the proletariat was only a temporary condition and that the final goal was a society in which the State would ,practically disappear. Lenin following the ideas of Karl Marx, published his famous work, The State and the Revolution in 1917. Here he made it clear that the dictatorship of the proletariat was 'only a transitional stage between capitalism and pure communism. Lenin asserted that " the toilers need a stage merely for the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters" Gradually the state would " wither away", dictatorship would disappear, and an absolutely classless society, with practically no machinery of government would emerge. In a classless society,... the state that instrument of coercion, will be both unnecessary and impossible" When this stage is reached, according to Lenin it will be possible " for society to inscribe on its banners " " from each according to his ability : to each according to his needs ". In theory the Fascists and Nazis looked upon dictatorship as an end in itself, while the Bolsheviks considered it as a means to and end.

The First World pitilessly exposed the inefficiency of the czarist government. The battle of Tannenberg, in 1 14, was only the first of a series of defeats for the Russian armies. As early as 1915 it became apparant that the czar s regime, its military machinery badly disorganized, was nearing disaster but a request from the Duma for more power in order to improve conditions in the field and at home met with a brusque refusal from the czar.

On March 3, 1917, a strike occurred in a factory in Petrograd. Within a week nearly all the workers in the city were idle, and fighting broke out in the streets. On March 11, 1917 the czar ordered the members of the Duma to go home and the strikers to go back to work. These orders precipitated the revolution. The

Duma refused to disband, the strikers held great mass meetings in defiance of the government, and the army openly sided with the workers. Encouraged by the army's support, the Duma selected a committee to head the revolution. At the same time the radical socialists in Petrograd formed a Soviet (Council) of workers and soldiers deputies to oppose the czar. On March 14, provisional government headed by the moderate liberal. Prince Lvov, was named by the Duma, and the following day the czar abdicated in favour of his brother, Grand Duke Michael, who refused to accept the throne.

Thus far the revolution had been, on the whole peaceful. Dominated by liberal middleclass representatives, the Duma hoped to achieve a political but not an economic revolution. On the other hand the Bolsheviks in the Petrograd Soviet were determined that there should be thorough going change in keeping with the teachings of Marx. Nevertheless, for a few months the radical Soviet co-operated with the provisional government. In July Lvov was succeeded by A. F. Kerenski, who was more progressive than his predecessor but not radical enough for the Bolsheviks. While the Government of Kerenski marked time, the Soviet in Petrograd extended its organization. All over the country local Soviets were set up. Assisted in part by funds by from Germany, the Bolsheviks created effective propaganda under the slogan of " Peace, Land and Bread ".

It was fortunate for the Bolsheviks that at this time they had two great leaders. Nikolay Lenin was spirited out of Switzerland by the German government and taken in a sealed railroad car across the Russian border Leon Trotsky, another regufee managed to make his way to Petrograd from the United States where he was living when the 1917 revolution occurred. In addition to these two capable leaders, the Bolshevik cause was strengthened by the presence of such men as Stalin, Bukharin and Rykov.

In 1917, Lenin declared in the Russian press that the war was an imperialist conflict between bourgeois interests that the

provisional government must go, and that its place must be taken by a republic of Soviet workers. After much manoeuvering behind the sceries and several false starts, the Soviets carried out a coup d' etat on November 6 and 7. The provisional government was otherthrown, Kerenski was driven out from power, and a central executive committee of the Soviets assumed control. Lenin had accomplished an amazing feat. With a party estimated to have had only thirty thousand members, he had gained control of a country of more than one hundred seventy million people, using audacity, splendid organisation and astute propaganda. The Bolsheviks were committed to hold free elections for a constitution-making assembly. In the voting that followed, Lenin and his followers were chagrined to receive just under as 25 per cent of the votes. The Assembly met in January 1918 and when it refused to be a rubber stamp of the Bolshoviks, it was dissolved by the bayonets of Lenin's troops. It was Russia's last free parliament.

During the course of the second revolution in Petrograd, disorder and massacre were prevalent throughout Russia, Soldiers shot their officers, members of the nobility were liquidated, and peasants massacred their land lords. The royal family had been arrested in March 1917 and later sent to Siberia. In the summer 1918 the approach of a pro czar White army sealed their fate. On July 18, the royal family were herded into a cellar, so the story goes, and shot.

The history of Russian Communism prior to World war II can be divided into four periods. The introductory period, October 1917 to the middle of 1918 to 1921 is known as the epoch to War of communism. In July 1928, the Communists established a constitution based on the following principles : (1) the dictatorship of the proletariat (2) the nationalisation of the land (3) the nationalization of the banks (4) compulsory labour (5) free education for all, and (6) the establishment of absolute Communism.

Having set up the new structure of government, the Communists made peace with Germany in the Treaty of Brest Litovsk in 1918 and turned to domestic problems. Industry was chaotic, many people were starving and hostile armies, the so-called White forces, were being formed to overthrow the Communist regime. The Allies blockaded Russia and landed troops to co-operate with the White Russians. At the height of the crisis Lenin appointed Trotsky to organize and direct the Communist Sorces. Allied intervention caused the patriotic Russians to forget their differences, while skilful propaganda spurred the morale of the people to great heights. By 1920 the White armies had been scattered or destroyed. Much of this success is attributed to Trotsky who, like Carnot of the French Revolution was the " organiser of victory".

The period from 1918 to 1921 was thus one of suffering and travail for all classes of Russian people. The nobility lost its estates, businessmen were deprived of their positions, private property was abolished, and refugees were scattered over the race of the earth. The peasant and the worker faced starvation and disease. That the Russian people as a whole were able to overcome what seemed to be insurmountable obstacles is a tribute to the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

Born in 1870 Lenin was an intellectual who, after a period of banishment to Siberia for political activities, wandered as an exile over Europe, plotting against the czar's government.

From 1918 to 1921 the Communists attempted to apply undiluted the communist principles to the Russian economy. Banks, railroads and shipping were nationalized, money economy was restricted, and all private property was abolished. Strong opposition to this programme soon developed. The peasants wanted cash and resented having to surrender their surplus grain to the government. Many labourers grumbled at being conscripted to work in the factories, and former business managers showed little enthusiasm for administering enterprises for the benefit of

the state. In the face of such opposition the Russian economic system was threatened with collapse. Despite strenuous opposition from his colleagues, Lenin deceided to make a strategic retreat. He felt that the Communists had been too eager to change everything at once, and he therefore inaugurated the New Economic Policy (NEP), which permitted a return to certain practices of the capitalist system.

When he came to power, his answering determination and devotion to Marx's principles were largely responsible for his success in establishing and maintaining the regime. What was Lenin's greatest achievement? Organizing the party, consolidating the Revolution, proclaiming the first Socialist State or winning the struggle for survival. These Leninist foundations were basis of a new society. Iu his work and writings are the record of the greatest man of action in our century.

Chapter XVIII

Rise of Dictatorships — Italy, Germany and Turkey

Introduction

In the inter-war period, that is between 1918 and 1939, Dictators arose in a number of European States. Italy came under the dictatorship of Mussolini; Germany came to be ruled by the Nazi dictator, **Hitler.** Turkey was under the dictatorship of **Mustafa Kemal Pasha**; Russia was ruled by Communist Party under **Lenin**; Spain came under the rule of the Candilo, Primo de Rivera and General Franco and Portugal was ruled by Dr. Salazar.

The main cause for the rise of dictatorships was that the sufferings which followed the First World War shook men's faith in democratic principles. The democratic governments set up in several European Countries at the end of the war were not able to solve the problems which they had to face. This was particularly true of Italy and Germany. People felt the need for a strong authoritarian government. In these Countries there was a lack of democratic traditions, which alone could have enabled them to preserve democracy. It must also be noted that the Dictators like Mussolini, Hitler, Lenin and Kemal Pasha were able men and they provided the leadership for which masses were longing.

(A) Dictatorship in Italy — Mussolini and Fascism

(1) Circumstances Leading to the Dictatorship of Mussolini

At the end of the First World War discontent and disorder prevailed in Italy. Italy joined the Allies in the war hoping to get some territorial concessions. She got only two small areas, **Trentino** and **Istria**. People accused the Government

for its diplomatic failure in the Paris-Versailles peace Conference. Besides Political discontent, there was economic distress all over Italy. Prices of goods were high. Many necessary articles were not available. Imitating the Russian Communists, workers seized the factories and the peasants expelled the landlords from their lands. Labour strikes were a common feature in all the industrial regions of Italy. It looked as though Italy might go Communist. The democratic Government of **Nitti** and **Giolitti** was not able to cope with the situation. It was this confused situation, that brought to the fore **Benito Mussolini** and his **Fascist Party**.

Benito Mussolini was the son of a blacksmith at **Forli**. His mother was a teacher. He was a Journalist and held Socialistic views. In the First World War he served in the army and was wounded. When he found disorder and discontent in Italy at the end of the War, he gathered round him a band of young enthusiasts. They were called Fascists, because they adopted as their flag, the fasces or bundles of rods which were carried by the Lictors before the Chief Magistrates in Ancient Rome as symbols of unity and authority. The Fascists wore black-shirts and hence were called ' Black-Shirts '. Mussolini drilled and disciplined the Black Shirts and taught them implicit obedience. The watch words of the Fascists were, " Believe, Obey, Fight". The Fascist party grew in numbers and strength as time rolled on. When he found himself strong, Mussolini marched with his " Black Shirts " upon Rome on October 30, 1922 and forced King Victor Emmanuel III to hand over the government to him. This famous '**March on Rome**' resulted in the establishment of the Fascist Dictatorship of Mussolini.

(2) Aims of Fascism

Fascism had three aims, namely, exaltation of the State, protection of private property and a spirited foreign policy. Mainly started as an anti-Communist Movement, it emerged as a reaction against liberalism and Democracy. Parliamentary democracy was overthrown; other parties were suppressed and a

single party enthroned on the seats of power. Like Communism, Fascism set up a totalitarian state. The Fascist motto was " Every thing within the State, nothing against the State, nothing outside the State". In foreign policy, Fascism aimed at reviving the glories of ancient Roman Imperialism. ' Mediterranean Imperialism was the watch word of Mussolini. He wanted to make the Mediterranean an Italian lake with Italian territories on the northern and eastern parts of Africa. Thus the Fascist party was totalitarian, nationalist, militant and imperialist.

(3) Achievements of Fascism.

It was Fascism that saved Italy from the disorder and demoralisation in which she had fallen after the First World War Order was restored; industry was put on its feet; production increased; many public works were undertaken; marshes were drained and reclaimed; and social welfare measures were introduced.

One of the Mussolini's successful achievements was the settlement of the long standing dispute between the Papacy and the Royal House of Italy. At the end of the Unification of Italy, the Pope was, almost a prisoner in the Vatican and the relations between the Papacy and the Royal Family of Italy were not cordial. By the Lateran Treaty of 1929 the Papacy recognised the Kingdom of Italy under the Royal House of Savoy with Rome as her Capital. Mussolini in his turn recognised the sovereignity of the Pope in the Vatican City. The ' Roman Question ' was thus closed and the State was strengthened by the support given to it by the Church.

Mussolini organised the nation on an economic and not on a territorial basis and brought the workers and employers together for the purpose of increasing production. Instead of the old Parliament containing elected representatives of territorial constituencies, he set up a chamber of Fascios and Corporations. The Chamber consisted of representatives of the Fascist Party and representatives of the Corporation into which economic activities

were grouped. These representatives came from both the Employers' and the workers' Syndicates. These representatives must be approved by the Government. The functions of the Chamber were advisory and the Fascist Government under the Mussolini the Duce retained every power.

But all these achievements were secured at the expense of political freedom and personal liberty. The individual existed for the State. Fascists created fear in the minds of the anti-Fascists by forcing them to drink a jar of Castor Oil. Mussolini's Secret Police known as the '**Ovra**' crushed all opposition to Fascist rule.

In the beginning Fascism was popular on account of its achievements, and democratic Countries like France and Britan applauded Fascist Italy. But when Fascist Italy started on a career of expansionism, it became unpopular. Mussolini invaded Abyssinia in 1935 and annexed it in 1936 in spite of the protest made by the league of Nations. He then joined with Nazi Germany and concluded the Rome Berlin Axis in 1939. He annexed Albania in 1939. In the Second World War he entered the struggle just when France was facing defeat and contributed to her complete collapse.

Soon nemesis came to Italy. From 1943 the war turned in favour of the Allies. German and Italian forces were expelled from all African territories and Italy herself was invaded by the Allies. Italy was defeated. In July 1944 Mussolini fell from power. Later he was shot dead by his own people. With Mussolini's death Fascism disappeared from Italy.

At the end of the war, Italy came under a Parliamentary democracy. Italy lost the illgotten acquisitions of the Fascist Party like Abyssinia and Albania.

(B) Dictatorship in Germany – Hitler an Nazism

(1) Circumstances Leading to the Dictatorship of Hitler

The National Socialist or Nazi Revolution began as a protest against the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 which humiliated Germany. Gradually as it gathered strength internally and obtained diplomatic successes externally, it became a dangerous national movement glorifying the German race and justifying militarism. This national, racial, militarist party was mainly responsible for the Second World War.

At the end of the First World War there was a revolution in Germany and Kaiser William II abdicated the throne. A Republic was established and a democratic Constitution was drawn up at Wenniar, near Berlin. The Weimar Constitution was tried for twelve years but it was not able to solve the problems of Post - War Germany. Humiliating Conditions were imposed upon Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. The German people hated the Social Democratic party which had signed the disgraceful Treaty of Versailles. When Germany was not able to pay the huge reparations amount fixed by the Versailles Treaty to France, the French army under direction from the French Premier, **Poincare** marched into **Ruhr**, the industrial part of Germany and strangled her industry. The feeding of the French army which had occupied the Ruhr valley increased the burden on Germany's economy. Unable to meet the growing expenses, Germany printed more and more currency notes. Inflation set in and the German Mark depreciated in value. The German Republic under **Dr. Stressmann** signed the **Locarno Treaty** in 1925 with France recognising the Western frontier of France as set up by the Versailles Treaty, and agreed not to alter it by force of arms.

In 1926 Germany was admitted as a member of the League of Nations Germany made a ramarkable recovery. But the Great Depression of 1929 shattered her economy. The economic discontent of the people helped the growth of Communist

ideas. People became desperate. They found that while Germany was disarmed, the new States created by the Versailles Settlement, namely, Czechoslovakia and Poland were allowed to have large armies. It was in this difficult situation that **Adolf Hitler** came forward as a leader and formed the National Socialist or Nazi Party.

Hitler was born in 1889 at **Braunan**, a small Austrian town. His father was a petty customs official. He was at first a painter, then a brick layer and finally a soldier. He distinguished himself in the First World War and won the Iron Cross. After the war when he found Germany disgraced and humiliated and when the Weimar Republic was not able to solve the problems of unemployment and inflation, the **'Mein Kampf'** (My Struggle) he outlined the programme of his party. He believed in the superiority of the German people and wanted Germany to be the leading power in Europe. He hated the Jews and the Communists and his party was therefore anti-Semitic and anti-Communist. He wanted to smash the Versailles Settlement which humiliated Germany. He did not believe in democracy. He believed in one party government and dictatorship. He declared **"Enivolk, Eni State, Eni Fuehrer"** (one People, one State, one Leader). His flag had the Swasthika symbol and his followers wore **'Brown Shirts'**. Nazism thus stood for Nationalism, Militarism, anti-Semitism and anti-Communism.

The programme outlined by Hitler appealed to the German people who had been humiliated by the Versailles Settlement and frustrated by the policies of the post war German democracy. Hitler's lieutenant, **Dr. Goebbels** who later on became the Minister for Propaganda, by his successful propaganda made Germany accept the Nazi programme. In January 1933 the Nazi party became the single largest party in the Reichstag and Hitler became the Chancellor. On the death of **President Hindenberg** in 1934, Hitler became the President and Chancellor. He called himself 'Der Fuehrer' (the Leader) and the Nazi party became the ruling party in

Germany. Thus the Versailles Settlement, the failure of the German democracy to solve the post - war problems, the hatred towards the Jews, and the ability of Hitler - all these causes contributed to the establishment of the Nazi dictatorship.

(2) Achievements of the Nazi Dictatorship

Hitler established as strong a Dictatorship as that of Lenin and Mussolini. He crushed all opposition with the help of the **Gestapo** or Secret Police under the Leadership of Himmler. He suppressed freedom of thought and speech. When **Captain Roehm** and others plotted against him, he shot them dead. This is known as the '**Blood Bath**' of June 30, 1934. Those who opposed the Nazis were sent to Concentration Camps. While democracy secures the happiness of the people, the Nazi dictatorship aimed at maximising the material power of Germany. Dr. Gooch defined the National Socialism of Hitler thus, "it was Nationalism without Liberalism, and Socialism without Internationalism and both without Democracy".

In spite of the defects noted above, the Nazi dictatorship increased the material prosperity of Germany. With the help of **Dr. Schacht**, an economic wizard, Hitler was able to rehabilitate the finances of Germany, and make herself self-sufficient in food, raw materials and industrial goods. Scientific methods of cultivation were introduced. German scientists produced synthetic products. The rearmament programme gave employment to many people.

The Nazi attitude towards women was expressed in three words, Kinder (children), Kriche (Kitchen) and Kurche (Church). Hitler wanted girls to marry, beget children, look after the household duties, attend the Church and be good Christians. Hitler wanted an increase of population for strengthening the German Defence Force.

It was in his foreign policy that he encountered opposition rom Britain and France. He first of all destroyed the Versailles

Settlement. He introduced compulsory military service in Germany, secretly rearmed his soldiers with the latest weapons and remilitarised the demilitarised Rhineland in March 1936. He then denounced the Locarno Treaty. In March 1938, he annexed Austria saying that it was a German State. In September 1938 he claimed **Sudetenland**, a part of Czecho-slovakia where the majority of the people were Germans. **Dr. Benes,** the President of the Czechoslovakian Republic sought the help of Britain and France but they were helpless. In September 1938 at Munich, Czecho-sloakia was dismembered and Sudetenland was annexed by Hitler. Finally in 1939 Hitler turned to Poland and demanded the return of **Danzig** and the **Polish Corridor** so that East Prussia could be linked with Germany.

The above mentioned aggressive acts of Hitler forced the Western Democracies of Britain and France to declare war on Hitler. In the Second World War Germany obtained initial success, but was finally crushed. Hitler died in Berlin. With the death of Hitler, Nazism came to an end.

(3) Comparison of Communism, Fascism and Nazism

Communism, Fascism and Nazism have some striking resemblances as well as differences. In all the three the State was totalitarian; individual freedom was at a discount. The Legislature was unimportant in all the three States. The Executive was all powerful. There was no freedom of speech and freedom of the Press. Only one party was allowed. The education in these States was so framed as to inculcate in the minds of the young men the ideology of the State.

The differences between the three are no less striking. The dictatorship in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany rose for the preservation of class differences, in Communist Russia for their destruction. In Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, private industry was allowed to function though under Government control. In communist Russia the State has taken the ownership and control of all the instruments of production. Fascism and

Nazism aimed at preserving old institutions that were threatened; Communism seeks to establish values that are new.

(b) Dictatorship in Turkey—Transformation of Turkey under Mustapha Kemal Pasha

(1) Circumstances Leading to the Dictatorship of Kemal Pasha

Before the First World War Turkey was the ruler of a great Empire extending over Europe and Asia. Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Asia Minor and a part of the Balkans constituted the Turkish Empire with its capital at Constantinople. The ruler of this vast Empire containing the Turks, Arabs and European Christians was the Sultan of Constantinople, an absolute monarch who allowed himself to be entangled and bullied by the Western Powers. The **young Turks** of the Sultans'. Empire had been agitating for years for the establishment of constitutional rule. They had been agitating for liberal reforms but the Turkish Sultan would not give up his authority.

The First World war broke out in 1914. In that war Turkey joined the side of Germany and Austria. Britain sent a powerful fleet to the Dardanelles in 1915, but it failed to land troops in the Balkan peninsula owing to the brilliant defence made by a young Turkish Officer, Mustapha Kemal Pasha. From this moment Kemal Pasha became popular with the Turkish people. When the War ended finally in a victory for the Allies, they forced Turkey to sign the **Treaty of Sevres** in 1920. This treaty took away most of the territories of the Turkish Sultan. The Dardanelles and the Bosphorous Straits as well as Constantinople were placed under the League of Nations. Smyrna in Asia Minor was given to Greece. The Asiatic territories of the Sultan, namely, Syria, Palestine and Iraq were placed under the mandate of France and Britain. Saudi Arabia was recognised as an independent State.

The Turkish Nationalists under Kemal Pasha refused to accept the humiliating terms of the Treaty of S vre To enforce the treaty, the Allies encouraged a Greek army to Capture Smyrna. This brought Kemal to the forefront. He got a military commission from the Sultan and went to Asia Minor. He defeated the Greeck army and drove it out of Asia Minor He set up a government at Angora in Asia Minor and refused to recognise the authority of the Turkish Sultan at Constantinople. His aims were emancipation of Turkey from foreign influence, internal reform and the establishment of a pure Turkish State in the original Turkish homeland. He was supported by a great majority of the Turks. The Sultan abdicated. Turkish monarchy disappeared. Kemal set up a Republic at Angora and became the President of the Turkish Republic. He was a dictator. The National Assembly at Angora simply registered his decisions. It was in this manner that Dictatorship was set up in Turkey.

(2) Achievements of Kemal

First, he was able to make the Allies revise the Treaty of Sevres. In 1923 the treaty was revised at Lausanne. By the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey lost Syria, Palestine, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. But she got back Constantinople and a small area around it.

Secondly, he exchanged the Christian, particularly the Greek population in Asia Minor for the Turkish population in Greek Islands. This exchange of population made New Turkey a homogeneous state, with no minority problems.

Thirdly, he swept away the Capitulations giving special privileges in justice and finance to the Western merchants in Turkey.

Fourthly, he made Turkey a new modern state by introducing a number of reforms. The Caliphate was abolished. Women were compelled to abandon the veil. Schools were required to give only secular education. The Koran was

rendered into the Turkish language. Islam was no longer to be the official religion of the Turkish Republic. Turks were required to wear the rimmed hat of the European instead of the traditional fiez. Polygamy was abolished. Latin Script was introduced. Western codes of laws were accepted.

Kemal Pasha made Turkey a new State respected and feared by Western Powers. He brought New Turkey on a par with the progressive states of the World. He has been called ' Ataturk ' or 'Father of the Turks'.

Chapter XIX

The Great Depression and The New Deal

History never completely closes one period of human affairs, writing "finish" to deep-seated fear, frustration and age-old enormities, and then initiates a new period completely unlike the old. History teaches the continuity of human affairs, the gradualness of basic change. One of the immediate results of the first World War was the apparent triumph of democracy. In 1918 there was a firm belief that this form of government would bring peace, and prosperity to the Post-War World. However the record of the nations in the decade and a half following the peace conference makes melancholy reading. For this period many nations of the world seemed sentenced of the waterland of post-war disillusionment and economic depression.

The United States in 1919 seemed in a logical position to assume leadership among the nations of the established order. She was now the most powerful and the wealthiest of them all. But after participating in the war, the United States chose to withdraw from international affairs and during the next two decades was to undergo an era of bloom and bust and a period of partial recovery and reform.

Herbert Hoover assumed offiice in March 1929. In his speech accepting nomination he said "We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land'. Most Americans shared his optimism. Hoover believed firmly that the best way to run business was by private enterprise. He had little experience of politics and the Presidency was the first elective office which he held. He was an unlucky President, for it was his Misfortune to encounter the worst economic depression in the history of the U. S. A. The great mining Engineer had no plan ready to meet disaster when it came.

America in those years was a land of crazes, and the stock market was the greatest of them all. The prosperity of Coolidge's (Herbert Hoovers' predecessor) days benefited the majority of Americans. The people who gained most were those who owned shares in the great industrial combines. In a time of prosperity people were interested in becoming shareholders not for the dividend it paid, but for its resale value and its speculative prices. And so people of every type and occupation in American from cow men in Middle West to Professors from New England bought shares. Sometimes they knew that they were buying, more often they did not, leaving it to the brokers as long as they could sell again with a profit, it mattered little. The stock market became a gigantic gambling game, with a major section of the population involved in it.

The prices of shares arose as a result of this national mania-to fantastic heights. In March 1928 General Electric Campany's stock were at 128 3/4. Eighteen months later they had risen to 369 1/4. This rise was typical of dozen others. Though there were a few instances of some shares tumbling down, and ruining its holder, the movement was in the main upward. The stock market has long served the American as a kind of barometer by which business prosperity may be measured; and then so long as the prices in the stock market were soaring upward, they believed that all was well.

Six months after Hoover's assumption of office, the stock market recorded its highest price levels. Then came the crash; prices began to fall. They had fallen before and recovered. For some time everyone anticipated recovery. But this time there was no recovery - particularly after one terrible day, October 24, when nearly 13,000,000 shares were sold. The bottom had fallen out of the stock market. Thousands were ruined. Deep pessimism set in, as contrast to the wild optimism of the prior days. This worsened the situation.

The immediate cause of this collapse was the fact that so many people were speculating with borrowed money on a very small margin of safety. Just as a rise of a few points on the prices of shares brought fortunes to the owners, so the drop of a few points saddled the owners with a debt which would ruin them. And once selling on a large scale began people's confidence fell, and so selling went on at an ever-increasing rate. This was what happened in June 1929, when the prices were at the lowest.

But this speculative selling was not the only reason for the crash. It was evident that the U. S. A. was entering a disastrous commercial and industrial depression, the worst in its history-which would bring unemployment to about 14,000,000 of its people. The reasons for this depression were numerous and complicated. Most of them were signs that something was fundamentally wrong with the private control of industry.

First this was not a depression that hit America alone but Britain and Europe as well. It was the result of the dislocation of the great war brought to world Trade.

Secondly American manufacturers encouraged by the high profits of the year of boom had made too many goods This overproduction led them eventually to start cutting down the number of goods they made, and this meant retrenchment of workers. Unemployed men meant less to spend, hence fewer goods were sold, in turn meant further lowering of the production of goods. Thus the depression gathered momentum.

Thirdly most of the profits (78%) made by the industry went to a small proportion (0.3%) of the people. If the profits had been more equally distributed among the population there would have been more people to buy goods than 0.3% could buy.

The domestic market was not able to absorb the buyer quantity of goods that was pouring from the factories.

In 1930 the Congress passed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act which raised the level of duties of imported goods. Hence American goods sold overseas were also met with huge tariff barrier. Therefore the quantity of American goods sold overseas fell.

Huge industrial combines and private individuals also were steeped in debt. America was banking heavily on prosperity in the future. Buying in instalment system was common. When prosperity began to fail, the whole structure collapsed; companies were bankrupt and stock holders ruined.

The depression beginning in 1929, grew deeper as Hoover's term of office went on. Unemployment was the most obviousign. There had been even in prosperity year, much unemployment, averaging about 1,500,000, but the country had never expected the shocking figures which the depression brought. By 1933 about 14,000,000 remained unemployed -a figure far worse in proportion than anything reached in Britain which also in the grip of a depression. American factories in 1933 were producing half the amount of goods they were producing in 1929. American trade overseas in 1932 was by the one third of what it was in 1929. These figures are just the bare record of a severe industrial crisis. Behind them lie the story of America's great depression - the story of factories, mills and mines lying idle, of banks remaining closed, of families plunging from comfort into poverty, of bread queues in the cities, of people starving. All this happened in the world's greatest industrial nation, a nation whose material civilization had reached a higher standard than any other in man's history.

Inevitably the Goverment was blamed for the depression. Hoover in common with many Americans refused to believe it would last. Recovery, they thought was just round the corner.

Hoover throughout refused to desist from his firm belief in rugged individualism. He believed that the Americans themselves would find a way out. A great man, Americans agreed with him!

This does not mean Hoover and his Government did nothing. He called to the White House a conference of employees, whom

he encouraged to keep wages high and to refrain from dismissing workmen; extensive loans were made to farmer; the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was set up in 1932 to lend money to banks, railroads and industries, it saved many from bankruptey. The Federal government encouraged private charities, city and state schemes for relieving distress. In 1931 Hoover attempted to ease the world's financial position and thus indirectly of America's by declaring a moratorium on war debts for 12 months. However when the public opinion knew that he had no grand plan to overcome the depression, it turned against him. The congressional election of 1930, gave the democrats a majority which blocked Hooever's proposals.

THE NEW DEAL

There was holocaust of gloom in the 1932 Presidential election. The great Depression inaugurated by the Stock-market crash on October 29, 1929 had not abated. 13 million of the 52 million workers were thrown out of employment. Agriculturists were desperate. About 5,504 banks were closed throughout the country. President Herbert Hoover was of the opinion that the economic tendencies of depression would ease out on their own, and opposed government interference of any kind, to check it. In accepting his Presidential renomination by the Republicans, Hoover spoke on 11 th August 1932, "because our difficulties are stupendous (it does not follow) that we must turn to state controlled and state-directed social or economic system in order to cure our troubles. That is not liberalism........ that is tyranny. To oppose and challenge Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt ("F. D. R. as he came to be widely known) was named by the Democrats.

F. D. R. after his education at Harvard, entered the New York State Senate. Later he was appointed Assistant Secretary of Navy by President Wilson. In the field of civil liberty and economic reform, he was profoundly influenced, by President Wilson Justice Louis Brandeis and Justice Oliver Wardell Holmes. He was nominated for Vice-Presidency in 1920. as a democrat candidate. He was not quite successful and his personal

tragedy of his paralysis soon followed. However with great courage and determination, and with the able help and guidance of his wife, he conquered his infirmity. This set back and its conquest created unbounded optimism and confidence in him. After his recovery he was elected Governor of New York and continued for two terms. This office of Governorship became a springboard to Presidency. In his elections manifesto, on July 2, 1932, F. D. R. stated " Our Republican leaders tell us economic laws are sacred, invincible and unchallengeable cause panic which no one could prevent. I pledge you, I pledge myself to a New Deal for the American people ". The New Deal was a phrase taken from Mark Twain's Connecticut Yankee " where Yankee remarked that " when half-a-dozen men cracked their whip, over the backs of a thousand of their fellows, what the nine hundred and ninety four other dupes needed was a new deal". After his success F. D. R. assumed office on March 4, 1933. At the outset, he tried to instil confidence in the people. In his famous fireside chats, nationwide broadcasts, he discussed problems on man to man basis and told the people that all problems could be well solved. The great nation will endure as it had endured, will revive and will prosper..............the only thing which we have to fear is fear itself, nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advances '. Then began the famous Hundred Days.

After much deliberation with the seventy third Congress convened in special sessions and with the brain-Trustees - a group of lawyers, economists and college professors, working hectically fifteen major legislative acts, unsurpassed in range, scope and variety were produced. There evienced a sharp revival of interest in the government. Twentysix new agencies were set up, ranging from Agricultural, Adjustments, Administration through W. P. A. (Works Progress Administration). The first three months were packed with a tight and hectic programme. The Congress was convened specially to pass the Emergency Banking Act to open the banks with a sound system. Later, a bill, entitling government expenditure was introduced. The Agricultural Adjustment

Administration was proposed to end the farm surpluses and boost the farm price. On March 21, F. D. R. submitted to the Congress an elaborate relief programme to establish the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. To prevent the fraudulent issue of stock and manipulation, the President recommended to Congress the establishment of securities and exchange commission. The famous Tennessee Valley Authority was proposed. The Congress was requested to create the National Industrial Recovery Administration. The President signed the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Bill. Other relief measures also followed.

The New Deal legislation were of two types. The first was to comfort and relieve those who had suffered from the Depression. The next was the long range objective to place the American economy back on its own legs, in good working order. The Public Works Administration under Secretary of the Interior, Herold L. Ickes gave contracts to public companies to construct a number of schools and colleges, and the labourer was recruited from the pool of unemployed. Under the Emergency Relief Act, the Works Progress Administration was created to provide employment only to those who were eligible. Although criticised by the opposition as political stunts, these relief measures helped in maintaining public morality.

The Tennessee Valley Authority was a significant achievement of the New Deal. This law empowered the purchase of Tennessee Valley which covered 40,000 square miles. Seven States were given opportunity to build and operate dams in the valley; generate and sell electric power; plan reforestation and flood control; bring marginal lands into cultivation; make the river navigable and improve the social and economic conditions of the people of that area. Sixteen new dams were constructed and five others brought under the control of the T. V. A. It was managed by a Board of Directors, three in number. Senator George W. Norris was largely responsible for the effective working of the measures which were introduced to prevent the recurrence of maladjustments responsible for the Tragic Room and events of

earlier decades. During Roosevelt's first term (1933-37) relief measures were implemented and after 1937, they were revised and regulated retaining the spirit of the New Deal.

F. D. R. emphasised in his inaugural address. 'the greatest primary task is to put people to work......it can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of war, but at the sametime, through this employment accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate the use of our national resources." The Federal Emergency Relief Administration was set up to provide funds to State and localities. People were given work and adequate remuneration for their services. The Civil Conservation Corps was established to recruit youths between 11 and 25 years to work in camps under War Department. The Civil work Administration in Washington provided employment to four million men. Some private power industry considered the T. V. A. a potential threat to their business but the Supreme Court turned down the opposition, saying that the progrmmes of T. V. A. came under the purview of the Constitution, The T. V. A. has become a model of a head line agency undertaking functions of a mixed nature in Public Administration.

The Recovery measures of F. D. R. were also geared towards the building up of internal economy. On the following day of his inauguration F. D. R. proclaimed that all banking operations and transactions of gold had been suspended for four days. The Emergency Banking Act was taken up immediately by the Congress which ratified on March 9, the President's earlier acts. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation advanced funds to affected banks; foreign exchange was brought under the control of the President. Treasury was given power to unearth hoarded money and prevent hoarding. Within two months the banking crisis was set right and 90% of bank deposits were recoverd. This affirmed the people's confidence on the New Deal. The Glan-Steagall Banking Act of June, 1933 continued to maintain the financial stability by protecting

the depositors' interests. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation provided guarantee to those who deposited upto 5,000 $ and the banks which failed, would be intervened and reorganised by the Corporation. The Banking Act of 1935 further established the banking operations by regulating the interest rates through Federal Reserve Board. To prevent the banks from risking the depositors, money in soap-bubble enterprises, the security Act of May 1933 imposed many stipulations. The Security Exchange Act of 1944 complimented it by issuing licences to the Stock Exchanges which were to co-operate with the Federal Reserve Board. The Public Utility Hoarding Company Act of 1935 brought the companies under the supervision of Stock Exchange Company Act and the Bankruptcy Act of 1938 intervened where the companies were reorganised involving a capital of more than 3 million. In the currency recovery manipulation the New Deal received opposition from a group of Western Democratic Senators. They supported largescale inflationary measures., the rest advocated a cautious policy. On May 12, 1933 the Thomas Amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act gave blanket power to the President to issue 'green backs'. The U. S. was willing to pursue an independent policy not committing itself to the European recovery. The London Economic conference in 1933, failed because of the U. S. keeping aloof.

On the labour and industrial fronts the New Deal Programme reflected the campaign promise of F. D. R. to realise the economic constitutional order, which revolved round the National Industrial Recovery Act of June, 1933. The Act was to satisfy both labourers and entrepreneurs. The provision indirectly set aside anti-trust laws and permitted the businessmen to fix prices and production quotas, and in its turn the business was to accept fair wages for the workers raised from time to time to alleviate even the lowest paid workers. These reciprocal agreements varied from one industry to another. Section 7 (a) of the Act guaranteed

collective bargaining of labour. The codes were administered by the National Recovery Administration. The N. R. A. soon fell short in the expectation of businessmen. The big business was discarding the small industries in agreeing to the codes; the worker felt that the N. R. A. administrators were supporting anti-union employers. Employers disgruntled at section 7 (a) which encouraged power and unity in the worker. In 1934, a National Review Board was appointed to review N. R. A. At this juncture the consumers who were affected by the price fixation procedures of the business raised their opposition. The controversial N. I. R. A. was declared unconstitutional on May 27, 1935 by the Supreme Court, while it gave its decision in the case of Schechter Poultry Corporation versus the United States. The N. I. R. A. in its short duration helped the workers to claim fair wages and united them to increase their bargaining power.

The N. I. R. A. was assisted by the National Labour Board to mediate or arbitrate disputes. But when the N. I. R. A. was scrapped the Labour demanded for new assurances. Congress passed the National Labour Relation Act (Wagner-Connery Act) on July 5, 1935, virtually incorporating the section 7 (a) of the nullified Act. The National Labour Relation Board consisting of three members, imposed more restrictions on the employers. Bogus Trade Unions created by the employers were disbanded. The New Deal period also saw the conflict and conciliation in the ranks of labour. The AFL was organised on industrial lines, but a move to have new union in mass production industries were gaining strength. An actual conflict took place in the AFL convention in 1935, and a conciliation was prompted by the Committee of Industrial Organization. The AFL ordered the committee to dissolve on its refusal to suspend the members. In 1938 these dissatisfied members united under the banner of Congress of Industrial Organisation and continued to function independently. The C. I. O. successfully implemented new methods to

force the employers to yield, such as 'sit down' and ' tools down' strikes. But before long A. F. L. and C. I. O. merged in 1955.

The New Deal programme for the recovery of agriculture was on the pattern of NIRA. The Agricultural Adjustment Act of May, 12, 1933 established the agriculturists to cut down their production and enhance the prices of their products. They were paid cash subsidies. For individual crop quota regulation, separate acts such as the Ken-Smith Act for tobacco, the Bankhead Cotton Control Act for Cotton etc. were passed. Even this A. A. A. was declared illegal by the Supreme Court in the Hoosac Miller case on January 6, 1936. Congress compensated the repeal of the A. A. A. by new Act such as Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act. A Resettlement Administration was also constituted to help tenant farmer and farmlands.

The third phase of the New Deal programme was in regard to the measures to reform the prevailing social tendencies which were impending the progress. The Revenue Act of 1935 (Wealth Tax Act) checked the trend towards monopoly and concentration of wealth, by levying taxes on wealth. The Public Utility Hoarding Company Act of August 1935 discouraged the formation of boards of operation of various companies producing similar goods. The United States Housing Authority Act (1937) and House Owner Corporation (1933) were to benefit the tenants. The Social security Act (1935) provided pension and retirement benefits to the aged and unemployed insurance benefits to the unemployed.

The New Deal Programme was not a party programme but Franklin D. Roosevelt's individual policy programme, hurriedly framed and hastily executed. Some of the measures initiated by the New Deal clearly failed, hence many Americans welcomed the Supreme Court's decision against N. R. A. because N. R. A. was already in much difficulty. Others were only partially successful.

The laws to help farmers, for example, improved the lot of the farmers themselves, but made that of agricultural labourer and sharecroppers worse. The banking reforms were ineffective; the labour laws seemed to encourage strikes. The New Deal in fact did not give a face lift to the American economy. More broadly, many Americans – even among those who sympathised with Roosevelt's aims, maintained that too much government control interfered with the liberties of American; and some thought that it would sap and destroy the enterprise and independence which Americans traditionally regarded a characteristic themselves.

On the other side, it is clear that in its early days the New Deal saved the jobs, the farm, the houses, even the lives of countless Americans caught up in a desperate and unexpected economic catastrophy. C. C. was in many ways of great value to American youth. Both W. P. A. and P. W. A. provided the country with much lasting value from roads, and bridges to schools, hospitals, works of art. T. V. A. transformed a great region returning million of acres to cultivation and making possible the establishment of many prosperous industries. Perhaps the greatest achievement of Roosevelt was to change the outlook of many millions of Americans. Many ideas of the New Deal like collective bargaining between employer and workman, the regulation of stock exchange, the restriction of hour of work - are now accepted as a part of the normal pattern of American life. Above all Roosevelt made his fellow citizens recognize that the vast resouces of the United States should be used by National Planning for the benefit of all its people and not merely for private profit of a few. In 1936 he could claim that his administration had 'saved the system of private profit and free enterprise after it had been dragged to the brink of ruin.

Though these measures together helped the nation withstand the rigours of the depression, they failed to achieve complete economic recovery. But they did accomplish important reforms and brought about significant shift in the relationship between the government and the society.

In whatever way one looks at the New Deal programme, there is little doubt about the fact that it marked significant departure from the prevailing economic system in the United States. The literary wing of the radical leftist group in the 1930's assumed that the depression would end capitalism. Most of them attacked the National Recovery Administration (N. R. A.) and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (A. A. A.) and feared that the New Deal was paving the way for fascism. The American Socialists were critical of the New Deal for not being Socialist, for building a State of Capitalism, with dangerous tendencies towards fascism, and finally for not being thorough in relieving the suffering of the Great Depression. Former President Herbert Hoover in criticising the New Deal attacked the whole programme of government planning and regimentation of the economy. Unidentified with either right or left group the intellectuals criticised the New Deal for they felt an all embracing planned national economy would necessitate the coercion of the citizenry.

Long after the New Deal era, one is able to realise how exaggerated were the fears entertained by the contemporaries about the New Deal. America is no less a democracy today than the critics of the New Deal wanted the nation to be at that time. Far from developing into a fascist state, the nation had inspired others to resist such tendencies even beyond its frontiers. The New Deal has become synonymous with reform throughout the world. The New Deal has set a standard of performance for subsequent Presidents.

Chapter XX

The Second World War (1939 - 45)

(A) Causes of the War

Fundamental Causes

(1) Evil Consequences of the World Depression: The fundamental causes for the second World War, as in the case of the first World War, were mainly economic. An economic crisis called the Great Depression swept across the whole world during 1929-32, and crippled the world economy, especially that of Germany, the country which was defeated in the First World War. It arose at first in U. S. A. which was then the richest country in the world, and which was supplying loan to the European countries. In 1929, speculation reached its climax in U. S. A. The prices of shares shot up, share holders became panicky and lost all confidenec in the share - market. There arose a regular run on the banks, in order to convert the shares into cash. The American banks, unable to cope up with the situation, demanded the repayment of the loans given to the European Countries. This resulted in the closing of many banks in Europe as well as in U. S. A. Loan given to the needy countries of Europe was suddenly stopped by U. S. A. The industries which were dependent upon American Capital collapsed. Especially Germany which was trying to revive its economic power with the help of American loan was the worst hit. It was forced in 1931 to repudiate the huge war reparations imposed on it by the Victor Powers after the first world war. Hitler, the main architect of the second world war, exploited the poor economic conditions of Germany, for increasing his hold on the German people.

The depression of the 1930s had disastrous effects in U. S. A. Prices of commodities came down to a ridiculous level. In order to keep up the price level the Americans threw into the sea the surplus grain, while in Europe people were actually

starving. The American Government restricted the import of goods from other countries by increasing the tariff on imported goods. Britain also adopted the same protectionist policy and raised a tariff wall against all foreign goods. It gave up gold standard and the policy of free-trade. This naturally affected the trade of the other countries of Europe. Each country raised the tariff on imported commodities and tried to become self-sufficient. In this race for self - sufficiency certain countries like Germany and Italy which were in a disadvantageous position when compared with Britain and France, began to indulge in aggression to achieve their ends.

(2) Commercial and Colonial Rivalry

War begets War, is very true of the first two world wars. In many ways, the second world war was the child of the first. As a result of World War I, Germany lost all her colonies. Italy, though it was one of the victorious allies, did not get all those colonies which it had coveted. Japan which was just emerging itself as a world power felt the need for colonies to expand her economy. These three countries felt themselves poor in raw materials, markets and colonies when compared with Great Britain, France and U. S. A. Their inferiority in the economic field was poignantly brought out during the depression of 1930s. Their foreign markets were either closed or crippled owing to the high tariff walls raised against their goods. They could not get the raw materials for their industries, because they lacked the credit to purchase them owing to the fall in their trade and commerce. These countries suffered from economic suffocation because on one hand they could not get raw materials and on the other hand they had no foreign markets. They began to feel that the only way to relieve themselves from such economic ills was to indulge in aggressive imperialism and snatch the colonies from the well-to do countries, which would supply them raw materials and provide them with a market place for their manufactured articles. Thus the second world war became a clash between the economically weaker countries and the economically stronger ones.

(3) The Severity of the Treaty of Versailles

The Treaty of Versailles which ended the first world war, sowed the seeds of the Second World war. It was unduly severe with Germany, the defeated country. For all the mistakes committed by the Kaiser, the innocent people of Germany were made to suffer. They were asked to pay a huge war indemnity of 6,600,000,000 in 60 instalments. They were almost stripped of their navy and army. Their colonies were snatched away and Danzig the only port outlet for Germany into the Baltic Sea was also taken away. This affected the trade of Germany with the Baltic countries. The Victor powers allowed Poland to reach the Baltic Sea through a corridor through Germany. This Polish corridor drove a wedge between Germany and East - Prussia. Further the war - guilt was imposed squarely on the shoulders of Germany. All this was done, without allowing any representation for Germany in the peace conference at Paris. Hence all these unjust peace - terms filled them with a spirit of vengeance. Inflation plagued Germany and it is said that people went to the market with a cart load of currency and returned with a handful of articles. Just when they were trying to revive their economy, the Great Depression came as a severe blow to their economy. When Hitler came forward to denounce the Versailles Treaty, his words found an echo in the heart of every German. When he promised redemption to the suffering masses, they turned towards a magnet.

(4) The Failure to Solve the Problem of Minorities

Of all the blunders committed by the Treaty of Versailles, the failure to solve the problem of Minorities. was the worst. The Wilsonian Principle of self - determination was not properly applied to the countries of Europe. Some of the minorities were subjected to great economic, political and military oppression, by the majority. Further in some cases the minorities were so mixed up that they could not be isolated from the main land and granted self - determination. However the German minorities in

Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland wanted to get themselves united with their homeland. Hitler whipped up the passions of such minorities and inspired them to agitate for their rights. Such agitations enabled Hitler to invade those States.

(5) The Growth of Aggressive Nationalism

After the first world war, each country began to develop Nationalism and Patriotism. In some countries like Germany and Italy they were carried to the extreme. 'My country, right or wrong' became the watch words of many countries. Further some countries developed economic nationalism in the wake of the Great Depression of 1930's. It was followed by cultural nationalism. Certain countries considered themselves as superior to the other nations. For example Hitler preached the idea of the racial superiority of the Germans to all others. He declared that the Germans belonged to the Nordic race which was superior to all other races. He talked of 'Kulturcampf' or the duty of civilising the whole world by the imposition of German rule. Based on this extreme Nationalism Political Philosophies like Nazicism in Germany and Fascism in Italy arose which glorified the State and its ruler and sacrificed the interests of the individuals, at the altar of the state. Such Philosophies, naturally helped the rise of dictators like Hitler and Mussolini who in order to keep them in power diverted the attention of their subjects towards foreign wars. They glorified the cult of violence and declared that it was in war the noble qualities of Man such as heroism and sacrifice are manifested and therefore necessary for their noble existence.

(6) Armament Race

The dictators of Germany, Italy and Japan actually indulged in an arms race, in order to realize their nefarious aims. Germany expanded its navy and army beyond its requirements. So did Italy and Japan. The disarmament clause of the League of Nations was discarded Secretly they were

arming themselves to the teeth. Naturally they wanted to test the efficacy of their arms in an open warfare with their enemies.

(7) The Impotence of the League of Nations

The League of Nations, a collective organisation formed after the First World War, to prevent the recurrence of another war, failed miserably to put its ideal into practice. In the beginning, of course, it attempted to establish a climate of peace in Europe. Owing to its efforts Germany and France were reconciled to each other by the Locarno Pact of 1925. Germany was admitted into the League in 1926. In 1928 the Kellogg-Briand pact was signed between the Secretary of State of U. S. A. (Kellogg) and the Foreign Minister of France (Briand) by which most of the countries of Europe renounced war as a means of settling disputes among the Nations.

But in the long run the League proved to be a powerless organisation. It could not enforce disarmament on Germany and Italy. When in 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria followed by China's appeal to the League to check the Japanese aggression, the member Nations of the League did not take any steps to stop Japan from occupying the Chinese Manchuria. Of course they condemned Japanese aggression and it was replied by Japan by its withdrawal from the membership of the League. When Hitler in 1935 increased Germany's fleet and the army against the convention of the League and then captured the Rhine territory, the members of the League did not take any effective action to check him. Germany withdrew its membership from the League in 1933. Similarly the occupation of Abyssinia by Italy in 1936. was left unchecked by the League. Even the economic sanctions imposed on Italy, were not observed by member states. Thus the League of Nations proved itself to be a mere debating society capable of no action. This emboldened the dictators of the world to indulge in further aggression.

(8) The formation of the Axis: The countries which walked out of the League of Nations had a peculiar sense of unity among

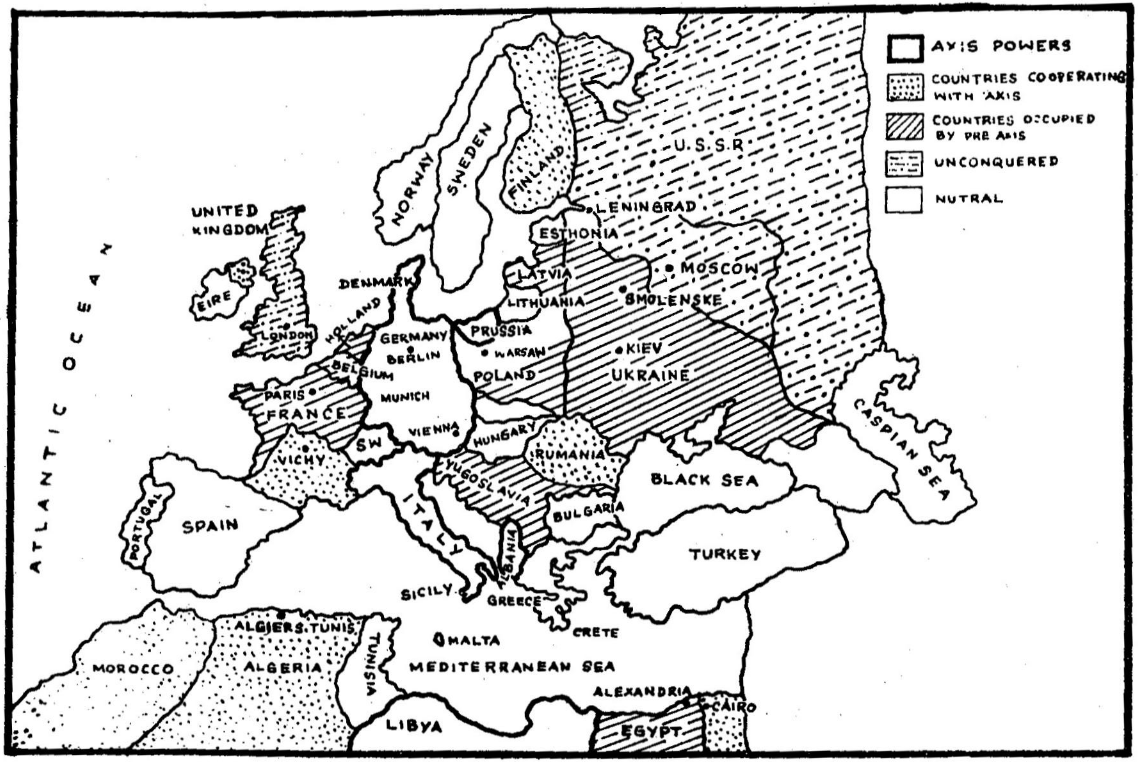

Fig. 20.1 The Second World War (1939-45)

themselves. They were united in the purpose of selfish aggrandisement. In October 1936, Germany and Italy entered into an alliance, known as the Axis. The next month Germany concluded a pact with Japan. Italy also joined it in 1937. Thus the three dictatorships joined hands with one another ready to back one another in their aggressions.

(B) Immediate Causes

Aggressions of Hitler

It was the unprovoked aggressions of Hitler, the dictator of Germany, which ultimately brought about the war. As noted earlier he occupied the Rhineland in 1936, though it had been declared a demilitarized zone by the Treaty of Versailles. Next he cast his covetous eyes on Austria and Sudetanland. He accused the Czechs of atrocities committed on German minorities. On the pretext of safeguarding the interests of the German minorities, the invaded Austria and annexed it in March 1938. Next he made preparations for attacking Sudetanland. Czechoslovakia appealed to Britain and France for aid against Hitler. The peace - loving Brtish Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain tried to settle the dispute by peaceful negotiations. But he could not dissuade him from his nefarious designs. The French Prime Minister Daladier accepted the view of Hitler and even asked the Czech Government to transfer Sudetanland to Germany. But when Hitler insisted on military occupation of Sudetanland, Britain and France began to mobilize for war. So Hitler agreed to settle the dispute through a conference. At Munich the conference was held in September 1938 where Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier recommended the occupation of Sudetanland, by Germany, in five stages. Hitler apparently agreed to the suggestion. Chamberlain boasted himself of having achieved peace with honour. But Hitler showed his true colours very soon. He not only occupied Sudetanland but also the whole of Czechoslovakia in 1939. He then demanded from the Polish Government, permission to

build a rail - road through the corridor connecting Germany with East Prussia. Then he made a demand for the return of Danzig. He concluded a military alliance with Mussolini in May 1939. To the surprise of the whole world, he concluded a non-aggression pact with Russia. After making all these preliminary preaparations he invaded Poland in September 1939 on the pretext of saving the German minorities. Britain and France could not remain quiet any longer. As they had already assured Poland to safeguard its neutrality, they issued an ultimatum to Germany to vacate the troops from Poland. But it went unheeded. Therefore Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3rd September 1939. In June 1940 Italy entered the war on the side of Germany. Japan, Italy and Germany entered into a Tripartite pact and formed the Axis powers. In December 1941, U .S. A. also declared war against Japan.

(C) Course of the War

Once the war was begun, it soon engulfed the entire world. It was fought in the various continents, seas of the world, over the air and caused incalculable damage to the lives and properties of the people. It was called a total war because not only the soldiers but also civilians died in large numbers in the battle.

The war in Poland was shortlived. It was attacked simultaneously by Russia and Germany in September 1939 and after an easy victory they partitioned its territory among themselves. Russia utilised the opportunity to conquer Latvia. Lithuania, Esthonia and a part of Finland for itself. In April, May and June 1940, Denmark, Norway, Luxembourg, Holland, Belgium and France were conquered by Hitler by adopting a peculiar method of lightning warfare called 'blitzkrieg.'

Next during 1940-41 Hitler tried to break the morale of the British people by indiscriminate bombardment of towns from the air. It is called the Battle of Britain. The air planes of Germany called the Luftwaffe and the submarines called the 'U Boats' caused considerable damage to British towns and ships. But the British

people could not be cowed down. By that time Sir Winston Churchill a dynamic Prime Minister replaced Chamberlain and guided the destinies of the British. Under his inspiring leadership, the British R. A. F. planes rained bombs on German towns in retaliation and destroyed the munition factories. The German submarines of course sank 240, 000 tons of British ships. But Churchill did not lose heart. He met President Roosevelt of U.S.A. and issued the Atlantic Charter. In that both the countries assured all those Nations which fought for their self - determination. (excluding India). By the Lend Lease Act U. S. A. supplied ships, planes, arms and ammunitions to Britain.

Meanwhile Mussolini, the military partner of Hitler invaded British Somaliland in Africa and occupied it. But General Wavell of the Allies defeated the Italians in many fronts. His successes in Libya, forced Hitler to send an army under General Rommel to North Africa. But wavell succeeded in driving away the Italian troops from East Africa. So also the Italian effort to conquer Greece and Albania ended in a fiasco.

In April and May 1941 Hitler captured Greece and Crete. He then launched upon his fateful march on Russia in June 1941. It was perhaps the greatest blunder committed by Hitler. In doing so he met the same fate as Napoleon I. With the characteristic speed and efficiency, Hitler reached Leningrad and Moscow. The Russians successfully retreated after destroying the factories, bridges, railways and crops, on their way. This scorched earth policy baffled Hitler who gained nothing from his victorious march up to Moscow. With a broken heart he returned and on the way was caught by the terrible Russian winter and also the Russian troops who now took the offensive. At Stalingrad Hitler suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Russians, by losing 318,000 soldiers. Inded it marked the turn of the tide.

During the year 1942-43, the Allies won splendid victories in Africa. In June 1942, Rommel the German General captured Jobnuk and attempted to enter Egypt. But General Montgomery,

the leader of the Allied army defeated the Germans in many a battle and drove away Rommel to Tripoli. Libya and French Africa were also captured by the allied troops. In 1943 the enemy troops were driven away from Tripoli also. Thus the Germans and Italians ultimately were driven out of Africa.

From Africa the Allied troops marched into Sicily and captured it. From there they invaded Italy. Mussolini was forced to resign and his successor Marshall Bodoglio surrendered to the Allies. In June 1944 the Allied forces invaded France through Normandy, under the able leadership of General Eisenhower. In March 1945 they entered Germany breaking through the Siegfried defences. The Russians attacked Germany from the East and captured Vienna and Berlin, in April 1945. In the same month Mussolini was shot dead by his enemies. Hitler lost all his hopes, as Berlin was surrounded by his enemies and died fighting in the streets of Berlin. On May 7th 1945 Germany surrendered unconditionally.

In the Eastern front Japan indulged in a series of aggressions. It dropped bombs on Pearl Harbour in Hawaii in the Pacific Ocean in December 1941. This unprovoked attack, clinched the issue and forced U. S. A. into the war. Japan with incredible speed conquered the islands of Guam and Wake, Hongkong, Singapore, Java, Burma and Philippines. Japanese soldiers came as far as Manipur and threatened India itself. Subhas Chandra Bose organised the Indian National Army and tried to conquer India from the British. But U. S. A. began its offensive from August 1942. Under the able leadership of General Mac Arthur the Japanese island like Solomons, the Marshall islands etc. were captured by the Americans. By July 1945, the Phillipines were also conquered by the Americans. On 26th July the Allies gave an ultimatum to Japan to surrender unconditionally Japan turned a deaf ear to the ultimatum. Thereafter U. S. A. dropped two atom bombs on the twin cities of Nagasaki and Hiroshima and destroyed them completely. This naturally frightened

the Japanese who unconditionally surrendered to the Allies on 14 th August 1945. On September 2, they signed the surrender terms. The collapse of the two aggressor countries namely Germany and Japan by 1945, put an end to the Second World War.

Peace Treaties

Treaties were concluded in 1947 only with Italy and four Axis satellites, Rumania, Bulgaria Hungary and Finland. The five treaties guaranteed civil rights to the people and enforced disarmament. Italy was forced to surrender her African empire and pay a huge war indemnity.

Germany was divided into three major Zones ana one minor Zone. Russia, Britain and U. S. A. took the three Zones while France took over the small Zone. Germany was made thoroughly impotent by disarmament. The German leaders of war, were quickly tried at Nuremberg and executed.

The Americans under Mac Arthur demobilised and disarmed Japano Mac Arthur introduced Parliamentary Government in Japan and tried to set night the chaotic conditions by staying there even after the war.

(D) Results of the War

The Second World War which was fought for the principle of self-determination triggered off a series of freedom movements after the war. India, Burma, Egypt, Indonesia, Indo-China, Ceylon and Phillipines fought for their freedom and got it. The African countries took the cue from Asian countries and obtained freedom one by one by indulging in agitations.

The war resulted in the final triumph of democracy over dictatorship which was totally abolished in Europe.

The leading victors of the war, U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. shot up to fame and became super-powers overnight. They collected their own satellite countries and began to wield enormous influence

in the politics and economy of the world. A war of nerves called the Cold War, came to be waged between the two great powers of U. S. A. and U. S. S. R.

By far the greatest result of the second World War, was the establishment of a world organisation called the United Nations Organisation. Based on the noble ideals of equality and justice, it is the only organisation which incessantly works for the preservation of international peace and the promotion of human welfare, through its various specialised agencies.

Chapter XXI

The United Nations Organization (U. N. O.)

The Genesis of the U. N. O.

The horrors of war and the blessings of Peace, were highlighted more in the second World War than in the First. All the well - meaning statesmen of the world, keenly felt the need for an international organization to preserve international peace and prosperity. Even while the War was going on, representatives of the Allied Powers, met at various places such as Moscow (1943), Dumbarton Oaks (1944) and Yalta (1945) and worked out a preliminary plan for such a world body. Winston Churchill of Great Britain, Franklin Roosevelt of U. S. A. and Joseph Stalin of U. S. S. R. were the master minds behind such efforts. The finishing touch to their plans were given at the San Francisco Conference held in June 1945, when delegates from 50 Nations met and discussed the proposals. The conference produced the famous charter of the United Nations which forms the basis of the U. N. O. The charter was ratified by all the Nations on 24th October 1945 when the U. N. O. was born.

The Aims of the U. N. O.

The basic aims of the organisation are set forth in the preamble to the Charter of the U. N. O. as follows, "to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war; to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights; to establish justice and respect for international obligations and to promote social progress and better standards of life".

To achieve these objects, the preamble affirms, that the peoples of the United Nations are determined to practise tolerence to live in peace as good neighbours, to ensure that armed forces shall not be used except in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the social, and

economic betterment of all peoples. Then the Charter proceeds to narrate its purposes and principles as follows. The four main purposes of the U. N. O. are said to be 1) to maintain international peace and security 2) to develop friendly relations among nations 3) to achieve cooperation among countries in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character, and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and 4) to serve as a centre for harmonizing the actions of Nations to attain these common ends.

The seven basic principles of the U. N. O. are stated to be (1) sovereign equality of all members (2) that all members are pledged to fulfil their obligations under the Charter in good faith (3) that all the members shall settle their disputes by peaceful means (4) that no member shall use force or threat of force against any state (5) that no member shall help any state against which the U. N. O. is taking enforcement action (6) that the U. N. O, shall ensure that non - members act in accordance with these principles as far as is necessary for the maintenance of peace and security and (7) that the U. N O. will not interfere with matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.

Composition of the U. N. O

The U. N. O. is composed of representatives from all the member nations. Originally it had 50 members but at present the membership has increased to 151. It is financed by the contributions from member states. It consists of six main organs, the general assembly, the security council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of justice and the International Secretariat. The official languages of the U. N. O. are Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. There is also provision for simultaneous translation of speeches made in any one of the above languages into all the other languages. The office building of U. N. O. is situated in an island called Manhattan, near New York. Its flag is light blue in

colour and emblazoned in white; in its centre is the U. N. symbol, a polar map of the world embraced by turn olive brances (a symbol of peace).

The General Assembly

The General Assembly is a huge body consisting of five representatives from each one of the member states. But each state is entitled only for one vote. It meets once a year normally but it can be specially summoned at the request of the Security Council or if the majorty of the members of the Assembly want. It has a right to discuss any international problem except those connected with security, and suggest remedies. It can make international laws and amend the U. N. O. Charter. It is a deliberative body wherein the working of the other organs of the U. N. O. are brought up for discussion and criticism. It reviews the annual reports and special reports of all the other organs. Members are allowed to air their grievances and bring resolutions which can be passed by a simple majority. Thus it serves as the biggest World Forum the nearest equivalent to the "Parliament of Man" conceived by poet Tennyson. It also serves as the parent body of the major organs of the U. N. O. Thus the ten non-permanent members of the Security Council and the eighteen members of the Trusteeship Council are elected from among its members. It admits members upon the recommendations of the Security Council and appoints the Secretary General. the supreme executive of the U. N. O. It considers and approves the bugdet of organization and apportions the expenses to the various member states.

The Security Council

This is the most improtant organ of the U. N. O. devised for the prevention of aggression in any part of the world. It consists of 15 members - 5 permanent (the U. S. A., the U. S. S. R., Britain, France and China) and ten non - permanent members. The non - permanent members are elected by the General Assembly for a two year term. Each member has one vote, exercised by one Representative.

This council has enormous powers. It is the body which decides that there is a threat to peace and the steps to be taken for the prevention of aggression. It should first of all try to solve the problem by peaceful negotiation. If it is not possible then it can recommend other stringent measures such as economic boycott, severence of diplomatic relations and military action. Though the U. N. O. has no permanent army of its own, the Security Council can organize a voluntary force, whenever necessary by asking the member states to contribute their quota of soldiers as decided by the military staff committee.

On matters of procedure, an affirmative vote of eight members of the Council is enough for taking action; on matters of crucial importance, decisions require eight votes including the concurring vote of all the five permanent members. Thus even one permanent member can block the passage of a resolution. This is called the Veto power.

The council is in permanent session and sits atleast once a fortnight to discuss any threat to international peace from any quarter of the world.

The Economic and Social Council

This consists of eighteen members elected by the General Assembly, each nation having one representative. They are elected for nine years. One third of them retire every three years. This council wants to remove the root causes of all warfare. It makes studies and then reports on economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters, with recommendations to the General Assembly. - Special Commissions are there to study particular problems such as population, narcotic drugs etc. It meets at Paris once in three years. It has got its own branches regional commissions for Europe, Latin America and Asia. It is a matter of pride to know that Dr. Lakshmanasamy Mudaliar, former Vice - Chancellor of the University of Madras was the President of this Council for many years.

The Trusteeship Council

This is a council organised for looking after the interests of the non-self governing territories placed under the trusteeship of **U. N. O.** It consists of the member nations that administer trust (colonial) territories, those of the five great powers which do not administer trust territories, and members elected by the General Assembly. Each member nation can send one qualified person to represent it in the Council. The trustee nations are expected to promote the welfare of the colonial territories, train their citizens in the art of self - government and ultimately give freedom. It is similar to the mandate system of the League of Nations.

The International Court of Justice

If the General Assembly and the security Council may be regarded as the Legislative and executive organs of the U. N. O. the International Court of justice may be regarded as its judicial organ. It is a successor to the Hague International Court of the League of Nations. It consists of fifteen judges chosen by the General Assembly and the Security council. It takes up for investigation only those cases which are referred to it by both the parties in a dispute. It gives its opinions on border disputes, treaties and other problems related to International Law. All members of the United Nations are automatically members of the Court. Each member undertakes to comply with the decisions of the Court. if it is a party to it.

The Secretariat

This consists of a **Secretary** General and a large number of staff selected from various nations of the world. It is the organ which actually coordinates the functions of the several organs of the U. N. O. It also collects information from various countries and supplies them to the different organs of U. N. O. It informs the Security Council of any possible danger to the peace and security of the world.

Specialised Agencies

In order to realize the high sounding ideals of the U. N. O. as enunciated in Article 55 of its Charter, such as promotion of higher standards of living, full employment, social, economic and cultural progress etc., Article 57 of the Charter has provided for various specialized agencies. The Economic and Social Council was authorized to make agreements with such agencies and coordinate their activities within the framework of the United Nations.

Several international agencies already established by inter-governmental agreement were brought under the purview of the United Nations. Such agencies are, The International Telecommunication Union of 1865, Universal Postal Union of 1875, World Meteorological Organisation of 1878, International Labour organisation of 1919, (ILO), Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of 1945, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) of 1945, International Monetary Fund of 1945 and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) of 1945, These agencies are doing Yeoman service to the world in those fields indicated in their names. Several other Agencies were set up on the initiative of the United Nations itself. Such of those agencies are, The World Health Organization (WHO) created in 1946 with the puropose of combating epidemic diseases, improving nutrition, sanitation, housing, labour conditions, promoting maternal and child welfare, International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) established in 1947 to promote civil aviation and air transport, International Refugee Organization (IRO), International Trade Organization, International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) created to feed the 5 million hungry children of Europe and Asia and United Nations Educational, Scientific. and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) established in 1946 to promote Human Rights and diffuse knowledge, culture and international understanding among all peoples of the earth.

All these agencies perform only advisory and consultative functions and they cannot operate in any country without the approval of that country's government. Neverthless their services are enormous and almost all the countries of the world are benefited by them. The helping hand of the U. N. O. is stretched to the remotest corners of the world, suffering from ignorance, hunger, famine, pestilence, epidemics etc. The peace-time activities of U. N. O. are indeed more laudable and ever-lasting then the War-time activities.

Achievements of the U. N. O.

To a certain extent the U. N. O. has succeeded in preventing aggressions and preserving the peace of the world. In more than one case, it has localised conficts and resolved them by mediation. For example it has stopped the fighting between the Jews and the Arabs on the one hand and the Jews and Egyptians on the other. When Britain and France invaded Egypt in 1956, owing to the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, it persuaded them to stop warfare and withdraw their forces. It mobilised and sent an international army to stop the civil war in Korea, Congo and Cyprus. It has forced Russia to withdraw the troops from Iran, and also Britain and France to withdraw their forces from Syria and Labanon. Nearer at home it has stopped the war between India and Pakistan. But it has not succeeded in finding permanent solutions for problems like the Middle East question and the Kashmir tangle.

In the Economic field the United Nations and its specialised agencies have done commendable service to the world. They "have helped to improve world production and distributions of food; have advanced loan for the economic development of the so called developing countries; have promoted commerce and trade; have settled labour disputes and set labour standards; have regulated the world postal-system and tele-communications; assured safety in airways and shipping; and have helped in a dozen other ways to improve economic conditions throughout the world"

The regional commissions for Europe, Asia, the Far East and Latin America have helped many countries to solve their economic problems by supplying them with loans and technical know how. Since economic causes are at the root of all wars, the UNESCO is doing its best to relieve the world from economic misery.

In the Social field they have suppressed immoral traffic in Women and Children, reduced the vigour of narcotic drugs, fed millions of children with milk, stopped the spread of communicable diseases and epidemics, repatriated and settled a large number of refugees, and have promoted educational and cultural progress.

Under the Trusteeship system the U. N. O. is helping many countries to attain self-government and better administration. Though the General Assembly and the International Court of Justice. it has evolved a code of International Law applicable to all countries. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the U. N. O. is a very valuable document which serves as a beacon light to all oppressed countries of the World.

The U. N. O. is definitely an improvement over the League of Nations. The big powers like U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. which were not represented in the League are at present members of the U. N. body. Communist China which was long denied membership has been admitted into it at last. There are 151 members there in the U. N. O. at present. Therefore the U. N. O. is more representative of the world than the League. The Security Council is a more powerful body than the old League Council. Definite steps could be taken through it to prevent aggression But if the aggression is perpetrated by one of the Big powers the Council can be made powerless by the Veto power. Even then the General Assembly can take action against the aggressor by a two thirds majority. While the League of Nations could not do anything more than lip service in the cause of peace, the U. N. O. is in a position to take action against aggressor Nations. It can mobilise an

international army to check the aggressors, which was beyond the capacity of the League. Financially the U. N. O. is stronger than the League and its peace-time services through specialised agencies has no comparison to that of the League. The General Assembly of the U. N. with a lot of members from African and Asian countries is a greater force than its counterpart in the League. Literally and figuratively the U. N. O. is no doubt a bigger body than the League of Nations.

Of course the U. N. O. has failed in its mission in certain cases. In spite of many conferences, the disarmament question still remains unsettled. Inspite of economic sanction and angry resolutions, the question of apartheid in S. Africa and Rhodesia is not yet been satisfacorily settled. When big powers violate human rights, as it happened in the case of Hungarian suppression of Rights by U. S. S. R. the U. N. O. is helpless. With all such lapses the U. N. O. is still a power to be reckoned with. That it is the only hope of mankind for the preservation of world peace cannot be belittled or denied.

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